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White Extremists Vow Organized Violence In South Africa

As police begin to crack down, rightists warn of 'war' over the issue of a homeland

By John Battersby
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

JOHANNESBURG

IN what is likely to be the biggest crackdown ever on white extremists in South Africa, police have made the first arrests among an estimated 200 to 300 right-wingers involved in the violent storming of the site of the country's multiracial negotiations Friday.

Right-wing groups have responded to at least 21 arrests by publicly taunting the police to "come and get them," and right-wing leaders have warned that their followers would turn to organized violence if the government continued to deny them self-determination.

"Afrikaner emotions have been building up, and I don't think I will have control over it when it spills over," says Gen. Constand Viljoen, leader of the right-wing umbrella Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF).

Conservative Party legislator Piet Gous, a driving force in the AVF, says that Afrikaners had reached the point where they were "prepared to kill" for their "right to self-determination."

He says if negotiators signed away the right to self-determination, it would be a "declaration of war."

"Then there will be an active military front as well as an active political front – just like the Irish Republican Army," he says.

Wim Booyse, independent policy analyst and an authority on the white right-wing, says that a nationwide crackdown would drive the right-wing underground and make it better organized and more effective.

"One must not overlook the fact that there has been a Biblical justification for their actions in

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Iraq Strike May Address Key Concern on Clinton

New poll reveals public doubts about both parties' capacity to lead

By Marshall Ingwerson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT Clinton's strike against Iraq was intended to send a clear "Don't tread on us" message to the world about American responsiveness to aggression.

The message will be heard at home, too, by an American public that is highly concerned about the nation's leadership.

A new survey by RSM Inc., a Republican public-opinion research firm, found a high level of public discomfort over the country's direction and the leadership in both parties. These results, part of a private poll, were offered exclusively to the Monitor.

When asked for their strongest concerns about Mr. Clinton, if any, voters most often indicated that he is "unprepared to be a world leader." One voter in three listed this concern either first or second.

Strong action against foreign aggressors, such as the strike this past weekend, almost always gives a president a surge of public support and confidence – if only briefly. In Clinton's case, the strike could also help shore up a specific weakness in his image, showing that "he is not afraid to act unilaterally and take on world opinion," says RSM pollster Vince Breglio.

In the RSM survey, concern over Clinton's leadership was heavily concentrated among Republican voters. Independents and Democrats are more concerned that he gives in too quickly to pressure and that he can't manage his administration.

Overall, voters reported strong concerns about whether Clinton is up to the job. But Senate Republican leader Robert Dole of Kansas and his fellow Republicans in Congress face even more concentrated concern: that they are "out of touch with average Americans." Not only did 42 percent of the voters in the survey rate this as a high concern, but 1 in 3 Republicans hold this view of their party's leaders.

One voter in four is highly concerned that Republicans are too intolerant of those with different values, and about the same number see GOP members of Congress with "no positive program of their own." Another 17 percent see Republicans in opposition to "meaningful political change."

This view of the Republican leadership suggests what RSM analysts call the "Achilles' heel of the Republican Party – their silk-tie and top-hat image of favoring the rich and the status quo."

The RSM findings are consistent with other recent surveys. Celinda Lake, a Democratic pollster who worked for the Clinton campaign, has heard the same themes in focus groups recently. Voters are worried about whether Clinton can break gridlock, she

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BRUCE YOUNG/REUTERS

ON THE SPOT: *President Clinton, as he announced his decision to bomb Iraq. The public is concerned about the competence of US leaders, as revealed in a new survey by a Republican public-opinion research firm.*

ENDANGERED SPEECH

Native Americans Attempt To Save Tribal Languages For the Next Generation

By Shannon Henry
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

PESHAWBESTOWN, MICH.

THERE are 500 ways to say love in the native American language Odawa, but Kenny Pheasant is the only one in his town who can say them all. Not even the elders in his community speak the language fluently. Because language can live only in the people who speak it, Odawa, like many other native tongues in the United States, is endangered.

Some tribes are reintroducing Indian languages to the next generation, recognizing that language is a powerful part of a culture's religion, history, and ritual. But many teachers find that few speakers are left and time is short, Mr. Pheasant says.

In North America, 80 percent of native languages are no longer taught to children, estimates University of Alaska linguist Michael Krauss. Tribes that have 100 speakers as well as those that have only two speakers face language extinction; once the elders are gone so is the language, says Mary Bates, director of the Native

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Under a new law, longtime Russian residents of Estonia may be deported unless they become Estonian citizens.
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Reduced chemical use and soil-conservation methods are slowly catching on.
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Base Commission Gives Pink Slips to Military

CHARLESTON, S.C., got hit hard. So did Michigan's Upper Peninsula. New England squeaked through relatively well, as did Alabama – for now.

The bitter debate over whose military bases should be closed and whose should remain open ended for another year this weekend as a federal base-closing commission wrapped up its work.

Decisions were excruciating, as commissioners repeatedly said. Community fought community for their military jobs. Charleston officials, for instance, tried hard to get the commission to shut down naval facilities in Virginia, Maine, and Texas.

The panel voted instead to close the Charleston naval shipyard and air station, at a stroke eliminating 33,000 jobs from the region.

Michigan, meanwhile, lost K.I. Sawyer Air Force Base. But the panel voted to keep open the Naval Submarine Base at Groton, Conn., which the Pentagon had requested closed. Commissioners similarly went against Defense Department wishes in keeping open Fort McClellan, Ala., the Army's primary chemical-warfare, defense-training facility.

After two previous rounds of base closings in recent years, the commission seemed more inclined to occasionally assert themselves rather than rubber-stamp Pentagon selections.

"They're more activist. Many of the staff-level people are the same from past years, so this is not a learning experience for them," points out Keith Cunningham, an analyst for Business Executives for National Security who follows defense conversion.

WASHINGTON WATCH

The Pentagon has no exact predictions for how much money the base-closing commission's actions will save. Before the panel started work, the Defense Department estimated that closing 31 major bases would save about $3 billion annually, though the shutdowns themselves would cost $1.7 billion.

The commission is scheduled to send its list of proposed closures to President Clinton by Thursday. The president then has until July 15 to either approve the list or send it back to the panel for reconsideration.

If Mr. Clinton approves the list, as expected, he sends it on to Congress. Lawmakers will then have a yes-or-no vote on the list, with no changes allowed.

This is far from the end of the pain of defense downsizing. As the military budget continues to fall, economics points to elimination of yet more jobs, said a senior administration official last week to a group of defense reporters.

Secretary of Defense Les Aspin has vowed to protect the readiness of armed forces. Procurement of new weapons has already been slashed deeply and, in any case, is a difficult area to find quick savings as dollars for a weapon's purchase are typically spread over many years.

That leaves overhead as an obvious target – the bases, maintenance facilities, and other types of infrastructure that grew up to support the military during the flush years of the cold war.

"That's tough to cut," admitted the senior official. "Overhead is rice bowls."

One contentious issue within the military now, for example, is what to do about the Air Force's huge depot maintainance structure.

With the military buying fewer new weapons, defense contractors want a chance to do more of the work that goes on at these bases. Yet depots are major high-wage employers. Any attempt to shift this work elsewhere is sure to spark stiff congressional resistance.

■ *Peter Grier reports from Washington.*

Congress backs action against Iraq

President Clinton's decision to attack Iraq's intelligence headquarters in retaliation for a foiled plot to kill former President Bush won early bipartisan backing from Congress.

"I'm not going to second-guess it, or in any way criticize it," Senate Republican leader Bob Dole said Sunday in Iowa. "I think he made a decision based on the evidence. Compared to our indecision on Bosnia, it was at least a step in the right direction. It was a very measured response."

"It would be difficult for me to think of members who would oppose it," said Rep. Lee Hamilton (D) of Indiana, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

– Compiled by Ross Atkin

NATIONAL

Florida's Governor Chiles asks that Washington foot bill associated with immigrants after a recent decision to admit people with AIDS

Ruling on Haitians Raises Question of Who Will Pay

By Ron Scherer
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

ON June 15, Florida Gov. Lawton Chiles (D) wrote President Clinton asking that the federal government absorb all related costs associated with people seeking refuge in the United States.

Mr. Chiles's request followed a decision by US District Judge Sterling Johnson ruling that 190 Haitian refugees held at Guantánamo Bay Naval Base, Cuba, must be admitted to the US. They have tested positive for HIV or have been diagnosed as having AIDS.

Although it is difficult to know how many Haitians will seek public help, their medical needs could cost up to $20 million if all new immigrants qualify for Medicaid. At least half of this expense would be picked up by state Medicaid funds.

"That is just the medical cost. There are other costs such as food, shelter, employment training, and other social services," says Ron Sachs, Chiles's communications director. For example, Haitian families arriving might be eligible for the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program.

In addition, the Community Relations Service, part of the Department of Justice, automatically dispenses $2,000 in cash to each refugee. Each state has its own package of benefits usually mirroring the state welfare policy.

But not all immigrants are eligible for this package. Congress limited eligibility for Medicaid to political refugees. Benefits have a time limit of eight months.

However, Bruce Bushart, director of New York's Bureau of Refugee and Immigration Affairs, says the Haitians will be encouraged to apply for Supplemental Security Income, a part of Social Security that is geared toward the elderly, needy, blind, and disabled.

"The Department of Health and Human Services is committed to helping to expedite that process," he explains.

The additional costs will hit state Medicaid funds at a time of extraordinary growth. In New York State, for example, Medicaid costs are growing at a rate of 12 percent a year. "It would have grown by 20 percent if we had not cut back on benefits," says Claudia Hutton, a spokeswoman for the state budget department.

And there is a new debate over whether the huge new influx of immigrants from all countries is a net plus or minus for the US. According to a recently released study by Donald Huddle, professor emeritus of economics at Rice University in Houston, the net cost of new immigrants over the next decade will be $450 billion.

Nancy Wittenberg, refugee programs administrator for the state of Florida, points out that the new immigrants will not necessarily be a drain on taxpayers. All of the Haitians who settled in Florida are joining families. "There is no reason to assume that person will add an additional burden," Ms. Wittenberg says.

The US has always had health standards immigrants had to meet. They were designed to screen out immigrants with diseases believed to be infectious, such as AIDS.

Haitians, in fact, do not generally seek public assistance but instead seek work. Also, she says, they are not familiar with welfare since it does not exist in Haiti.

However, Haitians may have no choice but to seek help from Medicaid for their medical care. According to Peter Arno, a health economist at Montefiore Hospital in the Bronx, the lifetime public medical expense of treating someone who is HIV positive is about $100,000 – about $40,000 per year for an AIDS patient, and about $10,000 per year for one who is HIV positive. New figures will be released in the next month which are expected to show higher costs, says Mr. Arno, author of "Against the Odds," a book about AIDS.

In fact, one major reason why Judge Johnson ruled that the Haitians could not be held at Guantánamo was the paucity of medical services. "The military doctors believe that the medical facilities on Guantánamo are inadequate to treat such AIDS patients because there is no CAT scanner or a variety of specialists that are necessary to diagnose and treat those with AIDS," she wrote.

The medical issue is important because the US has always had health standards that immigrants had to meet for admittance. The standards were designed to screen out immigrants with diseases believed to be infectious, such as AIDS. In fact, in a recent appropriations bill Congress reaffirmed AIDS as a bar to immigration, after the administration had indicated it would remove it from a list of infectious diseases.

Once the government found that there were 300 HIV-positive Haitians (of 10,738 with credible asylum claims), it decided that this group must pass a stiffer test, demonstrating "a well-founded fear" of political persecution, not just a "credible claim." The government was then sued by activist immigration and Haitian groups. They maintained that the asylum-seekers had the right to have a lawyer present during administrative hearings.

Johnson agreed with the activists, ruling that the government had violated the rights of Haitians, whom he said could not return to Haiti but must be released from Guantánamo. Now, the government is trying to decide whether or not to appeal.

However, some Immigration and Naturalization Service officials believe the appeal is too late since the Haitians are already here. Appeals courts usually consider such appeals moot since there is no relief sought. Instead, says Duane Austin, an INS spokesman, "The Judge's decision is making the INS asylum decision a judicial process instead of an administrative process."

In other words, any time a potential political refugee is interviewed anywhere in the world, he could ask to have a lawyer present.

"Does this decision extend to anywhere in the world and to all executive powers?" Mr. Austin asks.

"It could have a far-reaching impact," he says.

Talks to Restore Haiti's Democracy Proceed

By Lucia Mouat
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

THE long international effort to restore democracy to Haiti took an important step forward this week.

The United Nations and the Organization of American States have tried unsuccessfully before to arrange mediated talks between Haiti's exiled President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and the military leaders who overthrew him in September 1991.

That talks involving both President Aristide and Haiti's military chief Lt. Gen. Raoul Cedras actually got underway Sunday as scheduled is seen by diplomats here as a major achievement in itself. An effort by Aristide supporters to set preconditions almost derailed the talks at the last minute.

For security reasons, the talks are taking place on Governors Island south of Manhattan. New York City has the largest Haitian community – some 500,000 people – outside of Haiti.

About 5,000 of them voiced support for Aristide and disdain for General Cedras in demonstrations near the UN as talks got underway yesterday.

The UN Secretary-General's special envoy on Haiti, Dante Caputo, met first with one side and then the other in "proximity" talks. Diplomats said face-to-face talks would follow once a deal was struck. At press time Mr. Caputo, a former foreign minister of Argentina, said the talks have been positive: "I find on both sides a common ground."

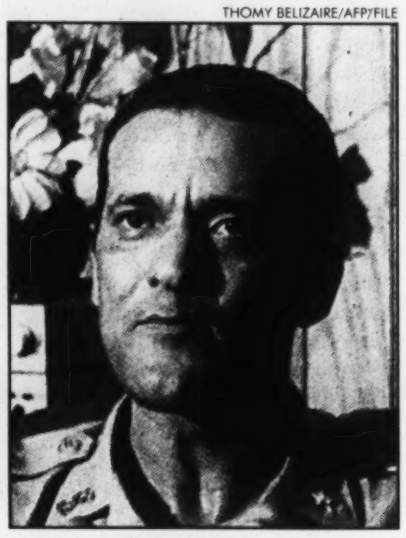
If the talks succeed in fixing a date for Aristide's return, many more problems will have to be faced.

"There's the whole question of Aristide's relationship to the military and of what you're going to do about the coup plotters," says Mark Falcoff, a Latin American specialist with the American Enterprise Institute. "How are you going to reassure people who don't like Aristide, and how can he be sure he's going to stay in power? This isn't just a question of Aristide returning."

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF

HAITIAN PRESIDENT ARISTIDE

THOMY BELIZAIRE/AFP/FILE



LT. GEN. RAOUL CEDRAS

Both the UN and the United States insist that an international police force is needed to ensure peaceful change and respect for human rights. Neither leader backs the concept publicly.

Caputo says he thinks economic sanctions played a key role in Cedras's June 21 acceptance of the UN offer to mediate talks. In early June the US tightened its sanctions on Haiti, freezing assets and revoking visas of 83 alleged coup backers. Tough new UN economic sanctions that cover oil and arms sales and freeze Haiti's foreign assets took effect June 23.

Cedras, who said he agreed to the meeting to avoid Haiti's economic ruin, promised Haitians before leaving that he would return with "good news." If his view of the situation is shared by Aristide, he said, Haiti will be "saved."

"I don't think any of us knows exactly what combination of carrots and sticks will turn this situation around," comments Mr. Falcoff.

"I've noticed a pattern of cat and mouse that [members of] the Haitian military play with the UN and the US. They've been willing to go back to the table on numerous occasions but we never get anywhere...." he adds. "Let's not rush to say, 'Sanctions have worked because we're back to the table.' "

Caputo is similarly cautious. "We are going to work very hard to make possible an agreement," he says, "but these negotiations will depend on the real will of the Haitian parties to find a solution."

Miami's Haitians Live In the Shadow of Tragic Events in Their Homeland

By Ben Barber
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

MIAMI

LIFAITE SAINTILME left his construction job last week to picket the federal building here with 50 other Haitians. He asked that the United States help exiled President Jean-Bertrand Aristide "go back in power – there is too much killing," in the land he left 14 years ago in a small boat.

While Mr. Saintilme and 50 others protested the current US policy of returning all Haitian boat people to Haiti, the rest of the estimated 100,000 Haitians here stayed away. But a half-dozen Creole-language radio stations in southern Florida kept them aware of recent hot news:

■ The United Nations Security Council approved an embargo on oil and arms sales to Haiti on June 16.

■ The last 14 Haitians boat people that had tested positive for the HIV virus arrived in Miami on June 21, after months at the Guantánamo Naval Base on Cuba.

■ The Supreme Court upheld the repatriation of boat people the same day.

■ President Aristide began talks involving Lt. Gen. Raoul Cedras, the coup leader who ousted him, on June 27.

Between 1977 and 1981, from 50,000 to 70,000 Haitian boat people arrived and settled in Little Haiti, a 500-square-block zone adjacent to Liberty City, a black neighborhood hard-hit by rioting in 1980. Today, some 200 pastel-colored shops with poetic-sounding names in Creole or French line 54th Street in Little Haiti. The brassy rhythms of *compas* music echoes from stores and passing car radios. But the store shelves are often bare, and few provide more than a meager living to the owners.

One of the busiest places in Little Haiti is the waiting room of the Haitian Refugee Center, packed with worried-looking people seeking legal help about immigration problems. Few will speak to a reporter, give their names, or be photographed, because they still worry about families back in Haiti.

Haitians work mainly in clothing and furniture factories and do menial chores in restaurants and hotels. Some have agricultural jobs that survived Hurricane Andrew. Their median earnings were just $680 per month in 1985, worse than Mariel Cubans, Dominicans in New York City, and Vietnamese refugees in California, according to anthropologist Alex Stepick III of Florida International University.

Researcher Sue Chaffee says many Haitians work informally inside the community: Women prepare food to sell, watch children, or sew; men fix cars, paint, or do construction work.

PETER MAIN/FILE

LITTLE HAITI, MIAMI: *Between 1977 and 1981, from 50,000 to 70,000 Haitian boat people arrived and settled in Little Haiti, a 500-square-block zone adjacent to Liberty City.*

"Haitians are very hard-working people," says Mercedes Toural, director of bilingual education and foreign languages for Dade County Public Schools. "They come in and do not try to be a burden."

Ms. Chaffee says Haitians "push their kids in education, a lot are in magnet programs." And she says the Haitians are adopting black culture externally. "They all wear Malcolm X T-shirts," she adds.

But while Haitians face the same prejudice as blacks in their new homeland and congressional black leaders have fought on their behalf, many Haitians here say they have as little social contact with American blacks as with whites. Their lives are spent among fellow Haitian refugees.

The former residents of the hemisphere's poorest nation also say they feel little hope that UN sanctions will improve Haiti's political situation.

"The oil embargo won't succeed," says Rolande Dorancy, executive director of the Haitian Refugee Center. Only the US, which trained Haiti's military, can get them out of power, she says. "The political situation is in US hands."

In her office are photos of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., the Rev. Jesse Jackson, and Aristide. On one wall looms a painting of a refugee boat foundering in high seas at night. One person sinks below the waves; a mother clutches a child.

"Haitians don't want to come here," she says. During the eight months that Aristide held office in 1991, she says, no boat people left the Caribbean island nation. The poverty was as great as ever, but the repression had been lifted.

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recent weeks – for instance their citing of the 10 plagues – and there is evidence of a new fundamentalism being born," Mr. Booyse says. "A crackdown will lead to a hardening of attitudes and will reduce the remaining resistance they have to using violence."

In a TV interview before leaving for a trip to Egypt and the United States, African National Congress President Nelson Mandela said the ANC was not prepared to consider any form of self-determination that would contribute to splitting up the country.

But he said that the ANC would discuss right-wing demands for self-determination within the framework of its policy on creating strong regions that could provide for "some form of self-rule within a united country."

OFFICIALS of the ruling National Party have indicated in recent weeks that they will soon put forward a proposal for some form of white homeland within one of the proposed federal states in a new South African constitution.

The assault on the negotiation headquarters was made the day after a debate in the 26-party negotiating forum, which rejected the right-wing demand for a sovereign white Afrikaner homeland.

The right-wing Conservative Party, the most extreme of the right-wing groups represented in the negotiating forum, is due to table its proposals today for a geographical territory on which to base a white "homeland."

Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe said Sunday that the police expect to make scores of arrests. He denied that police were dragging their feet. He said he had instructed his officers to track down and arrest the 200 to 300 people involved in the attack.

But General van der Merwe was more cautious about the position of Africaner Resistance Movement leader Eugene Terre Blanche and AVF leader General Viljoen. He said it was "very difficult to say at this stage" what role Mr. Terre Blanche had played.

Right-wing leaders have warned that "blood will flow" if Terre Blanche, Viljoen, or Conservative Party leader and AVF chairman Ferdi Hartzenberg are arrested.

Van der Merwe said Viljoen had played a "positive" role by trying to persuade the 3,000-strong crowd outside the building not to resort to violence and had entered the building with the sole purpose of restraining others.

At a news conference held inside the building by right-wing leaders, Viljoen condemned the violence but warned that when the right-wing resorted to violence, it would be planned and disciplined.

The arrests were made 24 hours after Mr. Mandela and President Frederik de Klerk left the country for different venues before meeting jointly with President Clinton in Philadelphia on Sunday to receive the Liberty Bell award.

The two leaders are scheduled to meet separately with Mr. Clinton in Washington on Friday – the same day as the negotiating forum meets in Johannesburg to finalize an election date.

But on the eve of his departure Saturday for the Organization of African Unity (OAU) meeting in Cairo, Mandela said that he would not call for the lifting of sanctions until a transitional authority was in place or until enabling legislation had been passed.

There is no chance of either of these conditions being met by Sunday, but Mandela said that he would nevertheless call on the World Bank to start preparing for development projects and would ask the US for "massive assistance" with socio-economic development.

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says. They also complain of his "flip-flops." While they acknowledge he is learning on the job, they fear he is learning too slowly.

The Clinton White House itself appears to have homed in on the vulnerability of the Republicans as the party of the rich and is heavily using that attack to defend the Clinton economic plan.

Outside of Republican ranks, Ms. Lake says, voters are not much concerned about Clinton's leadership in foreign affairs.

Voters are unusually critical these days of their leaders. RSM finds that two-thirds of voters believe the country is on the wrong track, compared with only 22 percent who see the country moving in the right direction. Voters are also unusually critical of their own political parties, RSM found.

A recent Los Angeles Times poll found that 42 percent of Americans approved of Clinton's job performance, while 49 percent disapproved. Messrs. Carter, Reagan, and Bush each had at least 2-to-1 approval at this point in their presidencies.

Yet, as in most polls during the past few months, the public puts considerably higher confidence in Clinton than in his Republican opposition. When asked in the Times poll who had better ideas for improving the economy, 44 percent chose Clinton and 31 percent congressional Republicans.

Enter Ross Perot. "Ross Perot could be the principal beneficiary of this political vacuum with his anti-Washington, anti-traditional politics movement," Dr. Breglio says.

Clinton has some credibility problems. One voter in four rates as a high concern that "you can't believe what he says." These skeptics are heavily concentrated in Republican ranks, however.

But most voter discomfort over Clinton seems to come from concern over his competence and fortitude, his ability to get things done. Republicans, on the other hand, are seen as what RSM analyst Ron Hinckley calls "the Jurassic Park of politics" – very dangerous opponents but attuned to another era.

The RSM survey was taken June 8-10 of a nationally representative sample of 1,000 registered voters. Its margin of error is plus or minus 3.5 percent.

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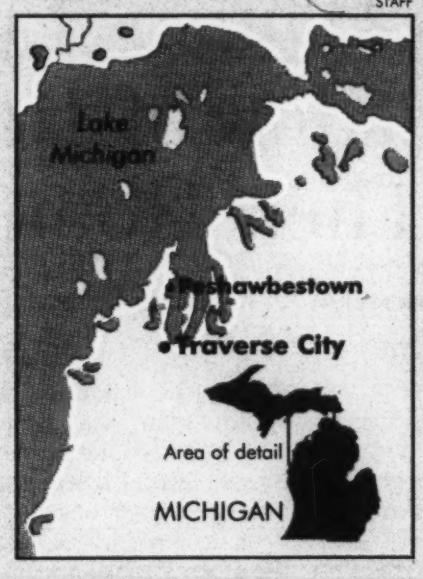
California Network in Bolinas, Calif.

The Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians is slowly retrieving its language. The group's small reservation lies among blooming cherry orchards between the tribally operated Leelanau Sands Casino and the local yacht club in Peshawbestown, Mich. Pheasant, an Ottawa Indian, has become the tribe's sole language teacher. He says he sometimes will spend eight hours conjugating a single verb. First he recalls the verb's tenses, then he translates their sounds into spellings, and finally he creates verb charts as a visual aid. He says he believes his work is essential and that survival of a language is survival of a people.

Even the Grand Traverse Band elders who live together in a large white compound on the reservation say they don't know Odawa well enough to teach it. Elder Esther Koon says she is grateful for Pheasant's knowledge of the language because she just doesn't know all the grammar. Pheasant says that Odawa, which is 60 percent verbs, has an overwhelming number of rules but also offers great opportunity to find just the right word.

STAFF



Odawa is not a written language. Pheasant says his ancestors communicated through art and speech, not writing. So there are no books in the library to help him or the children.

WHEN Pheasant moved to Michigan from Canada, where he learned the language as a child, a teacher at the local college asked him to teach a class in Odawa. So many people demanded to be taught that Pheasant had to quit his job at a construction company. He now teaches 150 students a week and is working on a computer program to instruct those who can't come to his classes. His students range from preschoolers to older adults.

Shirley Brown, a Chickasaw Indian and director of the Native American Language Institute in Harrah, Okla., says that only in the last 20 years have Indians tried to get their languages back. The desire of native Americans to succeed in a non-Indian culture and the suppression of native languages for centuries in schools have contributed to the destruction of those languages, she says.

"The problem is, we have to survive in two environments," Ms. Brown says. "We lose some of one or the other." This issue is one of the things Indians of all tribes agree on, she says: "When you talk about the language, you talk about the heart of something."

The Native California Network started its campaign to save languages last summer after a revival of another ritual that involved words – naming ceremonies. The network held a language conference that was attended by tribal scholars from all over the US, who shared news on local efforts to preserve language. "There were tears in the audience," says Ms. Bates.

One result of the conference was the establishment of a Master Apprentice Language Learning program by the network. The program, which starts this month in Berkeley, Calif., matches six elders with six people who want to learn their language. Karuk, Hupa, Yurok, Wintu, Yowlumni, and Mojave are the native Californian languages represented. The master in Wintu is the last medicine woman of her tribe and one of the last two speakers of the language. Her apprentice is her granddaughter. The teams will immerse themselves in a 16-week, 20-hour-a-week program.

The network also founded the group Advocates for Indigenous Language Survival at the conference. The group's first task is to assess the state of native Californian languages. They say this is an important first step because most tribe members themselves do not know how many speakers of their language are left and to what extent the original language survived.

So far, most of these efforts have been paid for by private contributions. But many tribes are now awaiting government funding for language preservation.

The Native American Languages Act of 1992 established a grant program to ensure survival of Indian languages. David Banks, a resource planner with the National Park Service who also administers federal funds, says that although no money has been given out yet, his organization is enthusiastic about helping language programs in the future. "We don't just deal with the preservation of [native American] buildings, but with foods, dances, and languages." All parts of a culture are represented, he says.

To Kenny Pheasant, the only way a language can survive is within a family. It has to be spoken and heard constantly by children, he says. For him, children are not only the fastest learners but also the only hope for a language to survive.

ADVERTISEMENT ADVERTISEMENT

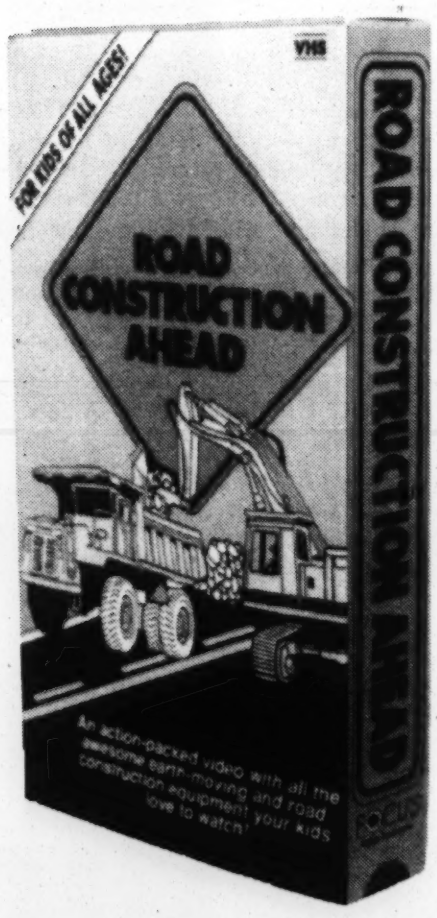
Kids Have a Blast With New Road Construction Video

Road Construction Ahead Wins Children's Media Award

MONTPELIER, Vt.—When video producer Fredric Levine saw how much his young sons were fascinated with heavy equipment, he decided to make a video of big machines at work. The video, *Road Construction Ahead*, is now available.

All the Big Machines Kids Love to Watch

Recorded at actual construction sites, the 30-minute tape features bulldozers, excavators, rock crushers, bucket loaders, and giant trucks. The video shows every stage of road building from surveying the site to the first car driving on the finished highway.


VHS
FOR KIDS OF ALL AGES!
ROAD CONSTRUCTION AHEAD
ROAD CONSTRUCTION AHEAD
An action-packed video with all the awesome earth-moving and road construction equipment your kids love to watch!

The narrator, a friendly construction worker named George, explains each segment. Drilling, blasting, grading, and paving are all shown.

"If your kids are fascinated by heavy equipment, then this video is for them."—United Media. *Road Construction Ahead*, $19.95 plus $3.95 shipping and handling from Focus Video, 1-800-843-3686.

Reviewers Rave

The Philadelphia Daily News wrote, "any kid whose eyes widen when he or she sees construction equipment will go for this." Chinaberry Book Service wrote *Road Construction Ahead* "evoked more 'awesomes' and 'wows' than I've ever heard in 30 minutes. Thank you for bringing the big machines and all their mystique right into our living rooms!" Gannett News called the video "a Tonka tyke's dream come true."

Parents and Grandparents Write

"When I ask what video they want...it's *Road Construction*," wrote Geri Luxenberg, Granada Hills, Cal. Nancy Brian of Broken Arrow, Okla., wrote "*Road Construction Ahead* has been played five times a day since it arrived 6 days ago.... We appreciate the great camera work and editing, the attention to humans and machines, and the neat ending."

Lowell Heisey's three grandchildren, ages 2 to 4, were "completely enthralled with this video...their parents say they have asked for it time after time. I wish to thank you for your insight into children's interests in producing such a video." Grandmother Leah Carpenter of Wheaton, Ill., wrote, "The video was thoroughly entertaining and educational for the whole family. The music was great too."

Winner of Children's Media Award

A panel of distinguished reviewers, educators and authors recently awarded *"Road Construction Ahead"* the 1992 California Children's Media Award for superior children's entertainment. The award is sponsored by a consortiurn of parenting publications.

Road Construction Ahead is recommended for children ages 1 to 8 and heavy equipment buffs of all ages. To order *Road Construction Ahead*, call toll-free, 1-800 843-3686, or send $19.95 plus $3.95 shipping and handling to:

Focus Video, Dept. CM1
138 Main Street, Montpelier, VT 05602. Allow 14 days for delivery.

INTERNATIONAL

Premier has been stung by allegations about Conservatives' secret funding

British Scandal Weakens Major as Leader of Tories

By Alexander MacLeod
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

LONDON

CONSERVATIVE Party stalwarts are saying John Major has until the autumn to prove he has what it takes to lead Britain – otherwise they will look around for somebody to replace him.

Dissatisfaction, most of it voiced privately, with the man who replaced Margaret Thatcher as prime minister in December 1990 reached new levels of intensity last week when Mr. Major's seemingly accident-prone government was hit by three new crises within seven days.

■ The Labour Party opposition pressed home accusations that the Conservatives funded their party with millions of pounds from foreign governments. Major denied the charges but refused to publish his party's accounts.

■ Michael Mates, minister in charge of antiterrorist operations in Northern Ireland, was forced to resign because of his support for Asil Nadir, a Turkish businessman who skipped bail in Britain and fled to Cyprus. Mr. Mates stepped down only a month after Major, in a bid to give the government a new lease on life, had sacked Norman Lamont, his unpopular chancellor of the exchequer. Mates, a former soldier, was a leading authority on security and antiterrorism.

■ Michael Heseltine, a senior minister and the government's best speaker in the House of Commons, suffered a heart attack in Italy. He is thought unlikely to rejoin the Cabinet for months, if ever.

Of the three new problems Major faces, the most damaging promises to be allegations that his party gets much of its revenue from foreign sources. Members of Parliament normally loyal to Major are expressing concern about what one called a "sleaze factor" afflicting the Conservative Party.

Publishing Tory income

During the weekend, several Conservative parliamentarians spoke privately of the need to publish the party's accounts. But Sir Norman Fowler, the Conservative chairman, said that was "not on the agenda."

He said £400,000 ($590,600) donated by Mr. Nadir would not be returned "unless it is proved to have been stolen." Lawyers for people who claim to have been defrauded by Nadir say they will sue the Conservatives for the money anyway.

In an attempt to turn the funding argument against the government's critics, Sir Norman said the Labour Party was financed by the trade unions. John Smith, the Labour leader, replied that his party publishes open accounts, whereas the Conservatives keep theirs secret. Two-thirds of Labour's £7 million ($10 million) annual income comes from trade-union donations.

Sir Norman said his party's income last year was £26 million, of which £18 million came from constituency associations. He refused to divulge the source of the rest, claiming that donors had "a right to privacy."

The Labour Party says much of the £8 million of unaccounted for money came from foreign sources, including the governments of Saudi Arabia and Brunei. The London Observer reported June 27 that before the April 1992 general election the Conservatives received £500,000 from a group of business tycoons in Hong Kong.

The Sunday Times reported June 27 that the party accepted £1 million from a car dealer who has since fled to Switzerland to escape fraud charges.

The Conservatives deny these claims.

'Unfairly attacked'

Major said June 26 that his leadership was being unfairly attacked by the news media, which was "concentrating on peripheral matters."

Sir Marcus Fox, chairman of the Conservatives' parliamentary committee, however, has criticized the prime minister's initial refusal to sack Mates or seek his resignation.

Dozens of Conservative backbenchers last week privately expressed concern about a lack of firm leadership from 10 Downing Street. The government's majority in the House of Commons is a slim 18 votes.

The prime minister's officials said Major was seething with anger at the criticism he has been receiving. One adviser claimed dissatisfaction was being whipped up by supporters of Lady Thatcher, who were still bitter about the way Major had displaced her in 1990.

As he struggles to reassert his leadership, Major is likely to be handicapped by the absence of Mr. Heseltine from the government front bench. Until his heart attack, Heseltine was the most forceful and articulate advocate of administration policy.

Heseltine's only rivals were Kenneth Clarke, appointed chancellor last month when Mr. Lamont was sacked, and Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary.

Mr. Hurd is rumored to want to leave politics and take up an academic post. Mr. Clarke does not hide his ambition to become prime minister and is widely seen as the man the Conservatives are likely to turn to if the party decides to seek a new leader.

Meeting the Challenges Facing a Troubled Somalia

Officials focus on disarmament, reconciliation, aid

By Robert M. Press
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MOGADISHU, SOMALIA

STANDING in front of a row of roofless, doorless, windowless shops – their walls riddled with bullet holes – in one of the most war- and vandal-damaged sections of this seaside capital, one can appreciate the enormity of the challenges Somalia is facing.

In the wake of the United States's recent military intervention, it is again clear that the task ahead is not just one of physical reconstruction.

This society has been wrenched apart by years of civil war leading to the overthrow of a brutal dictator, Mohamed Siad Barre, in January 1991, and since then, by internecine fighting between rebel groups.

Somali clans had developed a system of coexistence, despite periodic, small-scale conflicts. But following years of military backing from first the Soviet Union and then the United States, they armed themselves with everything from machine guns to anti-tank missiles and, since January 1991, have turned them on each other.

What is needed next, say Somalis, relief workers, US officials, and military officers from various countries comprising the United Nations forces here, is disarmament, political reconciliation among rival factions, and a resumption of humanitarian and development aid.

US retired Adm. Jonathan Howe, the UN Special Envoy to Somalia, is confident that after the dramatic shootout on June 17 between the UN and forces loyal to factional leader Gen. Mohamed Farah Aideed, the process of disarmament and reconciliation can be accelerated.

"The removal of one individual [Aideed] who clearly had decided to fight the UN for his own ends will speed it up," Admiral Howe told reporters on June 22.

The images the public got of the fighting in Mogadishu are not typical of the country, Howe says. Most of Somalia is at peace. And starvation is seen now as largely a thing of the past, though food relief is still needed for hundreds of thousands of displaced Somalis and others, say relief officials.

Although General Aideed was still at large yesterday, despite Howe's order for his arrest on June 17, neither US nor other UN officials are too concerned. They feel Aideed has been "marginalized," and that the repeated bombings of his strongholds serve as a loud message to other would-be opponents of the UN in Somalia.

The message is being heard in different ways, however.

"Guns cannot solve anything," says Ali Mohammed Ahmed, a Somali nurse, pausing for an interview in front of the row of heavily damaged shops.

But Mr. Ahmed, who lives in an area of the city under the control of militia leader Mohamed Ali Mahdi, says he supports the UN assault on Mr. Ali Mahdi's rival. "If a man is against Somali peace, we're happy to see him caught," he says of Aideed.

Yet the attacks on Aideed have simply "helped his popularity," says another Somali, Abdul Rashid.

In between such views are Somalis like Said Ibrahim, 12, who shines shoes to help his impoverished family here. "I started this when the civil war started" in 1991, he says, wearing a badly soiled shirt and pants and carrying a small shoulder bag with his brush and polish. "I would like to go to school again soon."

Tough tests lie ahead for the UN's disarmament plans.

Under an agreement signed by leaders of all the main factions, including Aideed, on March 27 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, heavy weapons are to be placed in depots under UN control. It was the UN's attempt to inspect one of those depots, belonging to Aideed, that led to the June 5 ambush by Aideed's forces against Pakistani troops, in which 23 Pakistani soldiers and about the same number of Somalis were killed. The incident escalated into the June 17 shootout and the destruction of Aideed's weapons depots by the UN.

Further incidents last Sunday, in which two American soldiers and a Pakistani were wounded by sniper fire, suggest that anti-Western sentiments remain a danger.

OTHER factional leaders have not objected to identifying their heavy weapons depots and opening them to UN inspection. But the UN has not carried out inspections of all of these arms caches, especially in the north, where they have no troops. No one knows to what extent Aideed may still have hidden weapons.

The Addis Ababa agreement also stipulates a "simultaneous disarmament throughout the entire country." An Italian officer in Somalia says the US should tackle disarmament in a more even-handed way, instead of focusing on Aideed. Another Italian officer called for greater use of diplomacy instead of putting so much emphasis on force.

But there are encouraging signs of initial recovery in Somalia. A few towns, including Baidoa, Belet Huen, and Hargeisa, have modest police forces. Some, such as those in Belet Huen, are not armed, however. A minimal number of schools have started up again in these places as well as in parts of Mogadishu.

A visit to Belet Huen, which is just northwest of Mogadishu, revealed a sharp contrast to the sniper fire and bombs in the capital. Shops were open and full of goods; outdoor markets were jammed.

"Our region is very stable. There is peace and calm," said Elmi Ali Abdi, a Somali engineer living in Belet Huen.

Italian troops recently blew up the heavy weapons local factional leaders had placed in Belet Huen's depot. There were no guns in sight. But based on arms searches, UN soldiers say there are still plenty of weapons hidden in the town.

KARIM SAHIB/AFP

MOURNING AND OUTRAGE: *Iraqis marched Sunday in a funeral for six people killed in the US attack. Arab countries are asserting the US enforces UN resolutions unevenly.*

Arab States Condemn US Strike on Baghdad

Even close American allies see double standard behind raid

By Stephen Hubbell
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

CAIRO

ARAB states, including close allies of the United States, are showing rare unanimity in their condemnation of the June 26 missile strike against Baghdad.

With the notable exception of the Arab Gulf countries, which regard Iraq as the greatest threat to regional stability, Arab states have disavowed the US attack, complaining that it was undertaken without consultation, and that it underscores the West's preoccupation with Baghdad and lack of concern for the plight of Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"When President Clinton aimed the 23 missiles at Baghdad," the conservative Cairo daily Al-Wafd editorialized yesterday, "he should have pointed a few of them at the Serbs." Similar sentiments were heard across the Arab world over the weekend as news of the US strike filtered down to street level, and as governments, including some that fought with the allies in the Gulf war, formulated their responses.

Senior officials in Egypt, a staunch ally of the US during the effort to dislodge Iraq from Kuwait in 1991, expressed disappointment with what they describe as the lack of balance in US foreign policy.

"We would have hoped to see the same decisive action taken against the aggressors in Bosnia to punish those who perpetuate the ethnic cleansing," Foreign Minister Amr Moussa told reporters Sunday.

The Arab League, headquartered in the Egyptian capital, released a statement Sunday expressing "deep sorrow" over the bombing raid and accusing Washington of employing a "double standard" in the Middle East and the former Yugoslavia. The statement was drafted by the organization's secretariat, however, rather than by the member states. Had the draft been debated by the entire body, observers say, it almost certainly would have been vetoed by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

Diplomats and other observers say that they believe the breach in the ranks of the broad Gulf-war alliance is neither serious nor permanent.

"The [raid] will cause temporary discomfort for our allies in the region," one Western diplomat says. "But I'm confident it will only be temporary."

"The partnership of these Arab states and the West has survived earlier attacks [by the US] and it will survive this one as well," he says.

The US has justified the raid by making reference to Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, which permits states to respond militarily if they are threatened by a hostile power.

Many Arabs have long been critical of Washington's insistence on implementing the letter of international law against Iraq, while adopting more generous interpretations of UN Security Council resolutions condemning Israel and Serbia. In addition, critics of the US action saw significance in the fact that the Clinton administration decided not to wait until a verdict was rendered in the trial of a group of Iraqis charged with plotting to kill former President Bush during his visit to Kuwait in April.

The existence of the plot is the reason that the administration gives for the raid, which reportedly destroyed the Baghdad headquarters of Iraqi Military Intelligence. Mr. Bush had been invited to Kuwait as a gesture of thanks for his stewardship of the allied coalition in the Gulf war.

In Morocco, a close ally of the US, the official press blasted Washington yesterday for undertaking the raid without first consulting sympathetic Arab states. The daily Al-Alam accused the Clinton administration of exploiting "the new world order in order to enslave the countries and people of the world." It said that Washington was using the UN Security Council as "an organ of American foreign policy."

Reports that Clinton informed Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin before launching the strike also played into the hands of Washington's Arab critics.

"The American administration is only concerned to get the approval of Israel," the Jordanian daily Sawt al-Shaab editorialized Monday. "This is cause for grave concern to us in Jordan."

In the only official comment from Jordan's leadership, Crown Prince Hassan bin Talal told the official Petra news agency yesterday that he felt the US raid would bring "hatred and human material damage" to the region. Jordan and the US were at odds during the Gulf war over Amman's failure to join the coalition opposing Baghdad and for logistical support that the Bush administration accused Jordan of giving to Iraq. But relations have been improving in the wake of King Hussein's visit to Washington earlier this month.

Charges Fly Between Russia, Estonia Over Citizenship Law

By Justin Burke
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MOSCOW

RUSSIAN officials are warning that Yugoslav-type chaos could erupt in Estonia if the Baltic state moves ahead with a new citizenship law widely viewed here as discriminatory against ethnic Russians.

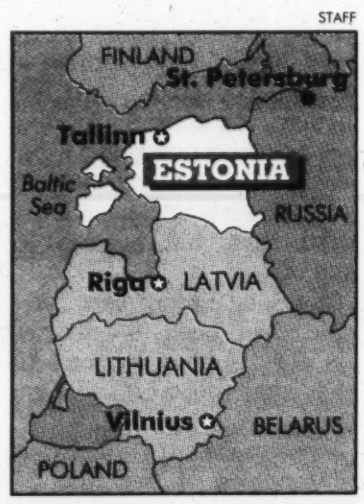
To counter the perceived threat to their countrymen, the Russian leadership is invoking a doctrine that claims Moscow has the right to serve as protector of ethnic Russians in former Soviet republics.

Bowing to the Russian intimidation, Estonian President Lennart Meri said he would not sign the citizenship measure into law until it was reviewed and approved by international organizations.

Other Estonian leaders, however, dismiss the Russian claims, insisting the legislation adheres to international human rights standards. They add that Moscow's outrage is politically motivated and designed to distract Russia's population from domestic political and economic problems.

The Estonian parliament adopted the "law on foreigners" June 21. Immediately after passage of the law, Russia began threatening to retaliate, including delaying the withdrawal of naval forces still stationed on Estonian territory.

STAFF



Under the new law, those living in Estonia, but who do not possess citizenship, are designated as immigrants. Immigrants who arrived before 1990 now have two years to apply for permanent residency status, or for Estonian or Russian citizenship. Those who fail to comply are subject to deportation.

Russians make up about 600,000 of Estonia's 1.6 million inhabitants. Most Russians emigrated to the Baltic state following its 1940 incorporation into the former Soviet Union and thus are categorized as noncitizen immigrants under existing legislation. That fact prevented most Russians from voting in last year's Estonian parliamentary elections – something that drew fierce condemnation from Moscow.

The latest act has raised tension further.

"This means the practice of ethnic cleansing and the imposition of an Estonian version of apartheid," Russian President Boris Yeltsin said.

"Yielding to the pressure of nationalists [the Estonian leadership] forgot about some geopolitical and demographic realities," he added. "The Russian side has the ability to remind them of it."

To back up his point, President Yeltsin vowed that Russia would intervene if inter-ethnic relations in Estonia deteriorated to the point of violence. "If the Russian-speaking population expresses the natural desire to protect itself from crude discrimination, Russia will not be able to remain in the position of indifferent onlooker," Yeltsin said.

Already Russia has cut off gas supplies to Estonia, although Russian energy officials say the stoppage was because of Estonia's tardiness in paying its bills.

Estonian Premier Mart Laar countered that the gas cutoff would hurt areas in Estonia populated mainly by Russians. The Baltic state, he added, has reoriented its economy so that it depends on Russia for only about 10 percent of its gas supplies.

The text of the Estonian law on foreigners already has been passed on to the Council of Europe for expert legal review. President Meri said he would like other organizations, including the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, to give its opinion on the measure.

Estonian leaders say well-defined citizenship legislation is necessary to protect the Baltic state's cultural identity. Meri attributed the row surrounding the new legislation to "both a lack of information and misinformation."

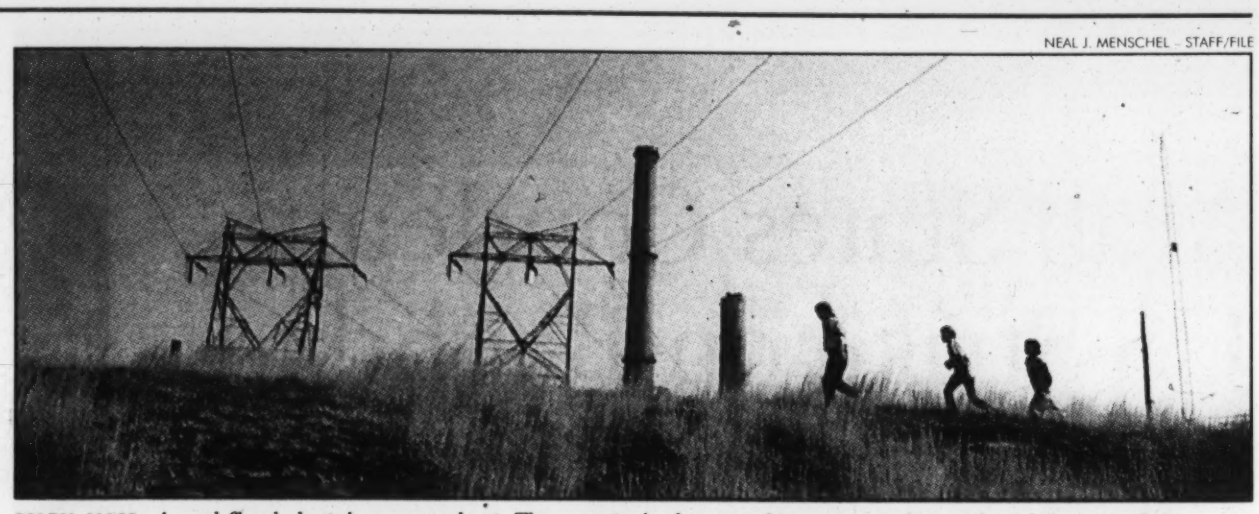
Premier Laar, meanwhile, has charged that "certain circles" in Russia were deliberately whipping up hysteria. "All these fears are really unfounded," Laar says. "The aim of the law is to bring influence to bear on people so that over the next two years they decide their own status, and decide what sort of citizen of what country they wish to become."

With Russia gripped by an economic and political crisis, the Yeltsin Administration has become increasingly vocal in defending Russians living in nearby former Soviet republics. Some Moscow-based political analysts say the government is taking such a position to appease influential Russian nationalists.

ECONOMY

Utilities Do Well, But Will It Last?

Some analysts say stocks are not a safe haven



NEAL J. MENSCHEL – STAFF/FILE

SALEM, MASS.: *A coal-fired electric power plant. The country's slow-moving economy has reduced the growth in demand for electricity. Competition among power producers is increasing, putting pressure on utility profits.*

By Guy Halverson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

LOW interest rates over the past several years have been good news for United States utility companies, especially electric utilities. Long-term rates again slipped downward late last week. During the past 12 months alone, more than $4 billion has poured into utility mutual funds from conservative investors seeking high yields, steady and lucrative dividends, and the relative safety of utility companies.

But now, with the direction of both inflation and interest rates uncertain, financial management companies are wondering if changing economic conditions will continue to benefit utilities. Will utilities still be the "safe haven" defensive stocks of years past? Some analysts think not.

So far this year, utilities have done very well. Utility indexes lead a number of major stock groups. The Dow Jones utility index, for example, is up more than 8 percent, compared with gains in the 5 percent range for the Dow Jones industrial average and the Dow transportation average.

"Utility mutual funds are performing well in terms of high yields, and favorable total return on investment, compared to competing investments," says Dennis Dolego, an analyst with Financial Research Corporation. That makes the funds "very attractive" to investors during a period of low-interest rates and economic and political uncertainty, Mr. Dolego says.

Selected utility stocks have not only been outperforming big-name blue chip industrial stocks in total returns, but have also performed well compared with the bond market, says Milton Schlein, an associate research director with Value Line, a New York investment research/advisory service. Unlike bonds, utility common stocks have "no upper limits," Mr. Schlein says. The stocks are not callable like bonds, nor do they have a fixed maturity date.

Value Line has studied the investment records of utility common stocks. One study from 1977 to 1990 concluded that utility common stocks provided a higher total return than bonds, whether interest rates were rising or not. A more recent study reaches the same conclusion. Over a 32-month period ending in the first part of this year, the total return for a 30-year US Treasury bond with an 8 percent coupon and a par value of $1,000 was about 45 percent. The total return on a selected roster of utility stocks was 55 percent.

But whether utility stocks can continue to shine is questionable, many experts say. While utility stocks outperformed broader market indexes in the first quarter of 1993, they have become somewhat erratic. In April, they outperformed the broad market; in May, they underperformed it. In June, they are expected to again outperform the broader market, investment house sources say. Final figures for June are not yet available.

Many analysts, such as Barry Abramson of Prudential Securities Inc., are cautioning customers that, despite current high yields (relative to alternative investments), underlying stock fundamentals for electric utilities suggest that the stocks are slightly overvalued. In addition to the risk of higher inflation, utilities will also face new competition. Electric utility stocks are trading at price/earnings ratios higher than they have been in the past 20 years, as well as lower yields than at any time during the same period, Mr. Abramson notes. But the earnings-growth potential for the electric utility industry appears low.

There are several reasons for the expectation of slower growth: The current slow-growth economy reduces the growth in demand for electricity. Some parts of the country have experienced an excess of supply in recent years. There also will be greater competition in the next few years following the enactment of the National Energy Policy Act of 1992, which in part allows independent power producers access to transmission lines of existing utilities. The result, analysts say, will be to lower profit margins for some utility companies.

Some of the more aggressive utilities, however, are setting up nonregulated subsidiaries to compete directly with the independent power producers.

Mail-Order Firms Go Green, Even Selling Rubber Neckties

By Leslie Albrecht Popiel
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

DENNIS LASHIER, an employee at Art's Tire Service in Greenfield, Mass., has been making neckties from old car tires for five years. Touted as "the ultimate gift for the fashion conscious environmentalist," Mr. LaShier has sold more than 5,000 "Rubber Necker" ties in 32 countries.

His outlet is the "One Song Enterprises" catalog, a mail-order service offering, among other things, natural baby diapers, beeswax candles, and ecological light bulbs.

The rubber ties and other environmental offerings are fun, politically correct, and even better, may be bought with little more effort than picking up the telephone and reeling off a credit card number.

From ties made with whitewall tires to peppermint foot lotion, more and more mail-order catalogs are offering environmentally friendly products.

Environmental issues

Victoria Johnson-Parratt launched One Song Enterprises from her home in Willoughby, Ohio. The catalog begins with the question: "The air is thick and the ozone level is thin. Our water is polluted, our top soil is disappearing, our garbage dumps are filling up and our time is running out. What's a human to do?"

Ms. Johnson-Parratt's response to her own question was to publish a catalog of "Environmentally friendly, cruelty free, recycled, organically certified and socially conscious products." Whether customers purchase these novelties to assuage a guilty conscience or to contribute to a better future is unclear, Johnson-Parratt says, but business has taken off.

One Song Enterprises, for example, has been flooded with calls for "Rubber Necker" ties, which come with a 500-year guarantee.

Johnson-Parratt distributed 1,500 copies of her first 382-product catalog (printed on recycled paper with soy ink) last year, mainly through word of mouth. She is preparing for the catalog's second edition, this time printing 10,000 copies.

Though Johnson-Parratt admits that much of the products' popularity is due to humor, some of her customers are very environmentally conscious: "People really like the fact that the shampoo doesn't have a bottle," she says of the bar-soap shampoo the catalog offers.

The Body Shop, an international chain store offering bath and cosmetic products, has been in the mail-order business since 1989, publishing five to six catalogs a year. Boasting no animal testing and naturally based products, Body Shop catalogs also evoke an environmentally friendly image.

The catalog is "issue oriented," says spokeswoman Paulette Cleghorn. Its pages are not only filled with environmentally sensitive soaps and balms – even banana hair putty – but also with company credos such as "Trade Not Aid," a reference to The Body Shop's policy of trading with third-world countries.

Consumer trends

Walden's, a mail-order company in Oxnard, Calif., offers pitchers and goblets made from recycled glass and bronze sculptures crafted from telephone cables.

Audrey Knight, who started the company with her husband last year, says their goal is to sell products that are environmentally friendly but are comparable in quality to retail store items. "It's gratifying to get comment cards back from customers with thank yous," Ms. Knight says.

There has been an increase in the number of these types of catalogs in the past five years as shoppers become more concerned about the environment, says Deborah Zizmor, spokeswoman for the Direct Marketing Association in New York. "Catalogs tend to follow the trends of consumers," she says.

Not only can people feel good about the products they order, but they also can feel good about shopping at home since catalogs are "the world's greatest carpool," cutting down on the gas and exhaust fumes caused by driving from store to store.

Mail-order companies are becoming more aware of the packaging they use to ship orders. Shipping boxes are likely to be filled with cardboard and paper rather than plastic, Ms. Zizmor says.

The Body Shop even uses shredded office memos for packing – styrofoam peanuts are definitely "out." Walden's uses both unprinted newsprint and starch-based "popcorn" that dissolves in water.

"It costs more but I thought it was important for our business," Knight says.

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Moving from socialism to a market economy continues to raise conflicts

Political Stalemate Hurts Nicaragua

By David R. Dye
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

MANAGUA

AFTER a month of effort, Nicaragua's contentious forces have managed neither to arrive at a political compromise nor to find a formula for reactivating a stagnant economy.

Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, half way into her six-year term as president, is facing difficulties in her drive to pacify Nicaragua and start economic development. Opposing her are disgruntled ex-contras, cashiered Sandinista military officers, restive unions, and right-wing United States politicians.

Last month Mrs. Chamorro and her advisors made two decisions. They gave the remaining bands of armed ex-soldiers plaguing Nicaragua's interior until June 1 to move into designated safe zones and begin laying down their arms. They also called together Nicaragua's fractious political and economic forces for a national or "all-party" dialogue, intended to get at the underlying causes of the unrest and instability.

Neither initiative is going well. Not only did the June 1 deadline pass unheeded by most of the ex-contra irregulars ("recontras") and the bands of ex-Sandinista Army officers ("recompas"), but much of the northern interior was left incommunicado after recontras blew up a telecommunications tower.

The all-party dialogue also has stalled, mainly because the players differ radically on where they think Nicaragua's problems come from and how they should be solved.

On the right, the National Opposition Union, which backed Chamorro in 1990 but now opposes her for being soft on the Sandinistas, says that the unrest in Nicaragua could be quelled if only the government had enough coercive power to do it. They want agreements that will strengthen the government's hand by reducing bastions of Sandinista power.

On the left, the Sandinista Front and its leader, former President Daniel Ortega, argue that violence and unrest in Nicaragua result from the Chamorro administration's stringent International Monetary Fund-style economic policies, spawning unemployment and social problems and failing to spark a significant recovery of output.

"Anyone who doesn't understand that Nicaragua's biggest problem is hunger has lost touch with reality," Mr. Ortega said recently.

The Sandinistas want the dialogue to focus on economic issues of interest to their constituents, who have been badly hurt by Chamorro's turn from a semi-socialist to a market economy.

They also want the government to spend more on jobs for unemployed workers and provide credit for small farmers, even if the IMF disapproves of the outlays.

MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN – STAFF/FILE

MANAGUA: *A Nicaraguan shoe market. Critics of the Chamorro government say its economic policies have spawned unemployment and failed to spark a recovery.*

The stakes are high. International donors have extended an economic lifeline to the Chamorro government over the last three years but are anxious to see some payoff. As a member of one of Managua's international missions says: "Our affection for Nicaragua is tinged with impatience for it to get going with its development."

The challenges of forging a national consensus are formidable. Two rounds of bilateral talks between the Chamorro government and the National Opposition Union (UNO) have produced little agreement. Christian Democrat Luis Guzman, an UNO leader, says: "I don't think the government is seriously seeking an accord with us."

Behind the impasse, Mr. Guzman and others argue, lie two factors. One is the reliance of Chamorro and her chief advisor, Presidency Minister Antonio Lacayo, on Sandinista Army Chief General Humberto Ortega, and to a lesser extent other Sandinista leaders, for help in keeping extremists at bay.

The other is Gen. Lacayo's intense dislike of his brother-in-law, UNO leader Alfredo Cesar who, with help from US Sen. Jesse Helms (R) of North Carolina, engineered last year's suspension of $100 million in US aid to Nicaragua. This year Mr. Cesar actively lobbied the Clinton administration to keep aid suspended, actions Lacayo considers treasonous.

The UNO's refusal to compromise seems to stem from resentment over being shut out of a governing role, as well as the belief that the coalition has the leverage to negatively influence American policymakers, who must decide whether Nicaragua is worthy of receiving further aid.

Diplomats in Managua view the stalemate as evidence that Nicaragua's leaders are not up to the task of pulling their country together.

Negotiations aimed at resolving economic differences have fared slightly better, but their impact is uncertain. Roundtable discussions among dialogue participants, including union and business groups, have led the government to relax IMF-imposed economic restraints, which were the price for IMF loans to Nicaragua, and offer expanded credit and lower taxes to the nation's farmers who will have to be the power behind any economic takeoff.

Policy changes will help, Sandinista farm leader Juan Tijerino says, but "they don't reach down to the really poor peasant who has been selling his land because he can't get bank financing."

US Delays Decision To Lift Indonesia's Special Trade Deal

By Reese Erlich
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

JAKARTA

HUMAN rights and labor activists here sharply criticized the Clinton administration's decision last week not to impose trade sanctions against Indonesia for its alleged human rights violations.

Two United States groups had urged that the government cancel Indonesia's exemptions from custom duties under the General System of Preferences (GSP) because of political repression and consistent labor law violations.

About $600 million in Indonesian exports to the US are affected by the administration's decision to postpone making any changes in Indonesia's trading status until Feb. 15, 1994. "This allows time for the government of Indonesia to change," says Greg Talcott, the US embassy official handling labor issues.

Mochtar Lubis, a novelist and human rights campaigner, says the decision is hypocritical. The Clinton administration proclaims its support for human rights in Somalia, he says, but refuses to take action in Indonesia against arbitrary arrests, press censorship, and suppression of independent trade unions.

The human rights group Asia Watch and the International Labor Rights Education and Research Fund, both based in Washington, filed complaints with the US trade representative last year, charging that workers in Indonesia face harsh repression. US multinational firms are among the worst offenders, they said.

Many US textile, garment, and shoe companies have set up shop in Indonesia to take advantage of the country's low wages. Production workers at six companies producing Nike sports shoes, for example, earn about 20 to 25 cents an hour. Workers and labor organizers complain that these six companies pay low wages, offer few benefits, and require overtime work.

An Indonesian labor organizer says the salary for probationary workers at Nike manufacturer PT Hardaya Aneka Shoes Industry's (HASI) is below the government's minimum wage of 3,000 rupiah (US$1.40) per day. Even after passing probation, he says, wages are so low that workers cannot afford to buy food that meets the government's minimum daily calorie requirement.

Tony Nava, Nike's general manager in Jakarta, strongly denies that workers at Nike plants face poor or otherwise exploitative conditions. He says Nike manufacturers have state-of-the-art factories that provide excellent ventilation and lighting.

Many workers live eight to 12 people to a room in the squalid slum area of Tangerang just outside Jakarta, home to many US shoe manufacturers. "We hold Nike responsible for these conditions," the labor organizer says. "They are victimizing workers for their own profit."

Workers at the PT Sung Hwa Dunia Nike plant struck late last year over wages and lack of union representation. Workers complained that a government-controlled union did not represent their interests, never held elections, and that they did not even know who its leaders were. The All Indonesian Workers Association, the only legal labor federation, is headed by a multimilionaire businessman and frequently staffed by retired military officers. Military and police forces clashed violently with workers during the strike and detained key leaders who were later fired, the organizer says.

Mr. Nava says his company cannot be held responsible for Indonesian government actions.

"The factories that we deal with are probably the best you're going to find in this country," he says. All Nike contractors must follow Indonesian labor regulations or face termination of their contract, Nava says. Nikes imported to the US are not charged duties and a change in GSP rules would hurt company profits, he says. "Anything that can be done to support the industry here and support Indonesia's development is good," he adds.

US diplomat Mr. Talcott concedes that human and labor rights need to be improved in Indonesia. He says President Suharto's recent reshuffling of his Cabinet may improve labor regulations. That is why the US postponed any decision on lifting GSP privileges, he says.

HABITAT

Back to Nature, Down on the Farm

US farmers move toward cultivating crops with agricultural techniques that can reduce chemical use

By Sam Walker
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

DEXTER, MICH.

ON a cool Michigan morning, Paul Guenther walks through his fields of corn, soybeans, wheat, and alfalfa. He pokes at his crops, digs up weeds, and searches for signs of insects. Crouching down, he pulls up a handful of rich black topsoil and sifts through it with his fingers. "I know people who don't even see their fields between planting and harvest time," he says, examining the soil. "I'm not like that."

Eight seasons ago, Mr. Guenther noticed his fields had begun to dry and harden. Convinced that his use of synthetic chemicals was responsible, he reduced his application of pesticides and fertilizer by 75 percent and began experimenting with agricultural methods designed to improve soil quality. Last year, the test weights of his grains reached the highest levels he'd ever seen – an indication of heartier plants.

"You've got to raise healthy crops in healthy soil before you do anything else," Guenther says. "Since I cut my use of chemicals, I've seen an increase in biological activity in my soil. It continues to get rid of the toxic residues we've left behind."

Guenther attributes his success to his adoption of low-input sustainable agriculture (LISA). First introduced in the 1985 Farm Bill, the LISA program encourages farmers to pursue a two-sided strategy for their field crops: To drastically reduce chemical use and to plant cover crops, rotate crops, manage pests with natural predators, and practice conservation tillage. These methods are intended to curb erosion, protect crops, restore natural nutrients to the soil, and reverse the accumulation of toxins in fields and farm ecosystems.

Recent research by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) indicates that low-input sustainable agriculture may be gaining momentum.

According to the USDA, farmers in some areas of the Midwest more than doubled their use of conservation tillage on fields of corn and soybeans between 1991 and 1992. Also, farmers reported using some form of conservation tillage on 31 percent of their total 1992 crop acreage.

But USDA estimates also project that American farmers will apply some form of chemical additive to 97 percent of this year's corn crop. And they will use nearly 20 million tons of synthetic fertilizer, and 472 million pounds of pesticides. Traces of agricultural chemicals have been found in the water of at least 40 states.

With these figures in mind, critics of chemical farming have embraced LISA as a farming system that reduces environmental pollution. "The fact is that any emission of chemicals into the soil is going to have some bad effects," says Barry Commoner, an ecologist at the Center for the Biology of Natural Systems in New York. "What we have to strive for is zero."

In 1974, Dr. Commoner concluded a five-year study that tracked 14 comparable Midwestern farms, seven of which applied chemicals to their crops and another seven that did not. His data showed that harvest yields for chemical-free farms were lower than yields on conventional farms.

But the study also found that revenues for both types of farm were nearly equal, because conventional farmers spent a large portion of their revenues paying off loans they took out to buy chemicals.

Commoner says that although these findings were "viciously attacked" initially, recent follow-ups – including a 1991 National Academy of Sciences study – reached a similar conclusion: The relationship between chemical usage and farm revenue may be negligible.

Government action

As a result of these studies and mounting evidence of the presence of agricultural chemicals in human food, as well as in soil and water, federal policymakers have begun to consider chemical-reduction mandates.

In a statement Friday, officials from the Environmental Protection Agency, the Food and Drug Administration, and the USDA announced their intention to form an alliance to reduce pesticide use and "promote sustainable agriculture."

The statement was issued in advance of a National Academy of Sciences study released today that finds children especially susceptible to pesticide residues in food.

Sensing a possible onslaught of regulation, the agricultural chemical industry has joined the debate in Washington.

"I don't want to say we aren't part of the problem," says Ron Phillips, spokesman for the Fertilizer Institute, "but we're taking steps to safeguard the environment."

Mr. Phillips says the fertilizer industry has begun working extensively through its dealers to educate farmers about more efficient means of applying chemical fertilizer, methods that reduce waste and environmental pollution.

But he also says American farmers could not maintain their usual productivity by using only natural fertilizers like manure. He says the main goal of his industry's lobbying efforts is to promote legislation that mandates efficient use rather than restriction. "I hope the new administration will be supportive of our efforts," he says.

The Clinton budget would freeze funding for sustainable agriculture at the previous year's level of $6.7 million, with the exception of a $200,000 increase for research and education programs.

USDA spokesman Tom Amontree says the Clinton administration is "extremely positive" about low-input sustainable agriculture. He notes that the proposed allotment represents a 55 percent increase over what the Bush administration had asked for.

But Fred Hoefner, a spokesman for the Sustainable Agriculture Coalition, expresses disappointment with the Clinton budget, describing the allotment for LISA as "an inflation adjustment." He says, however, that spending is less crucial to the future of LISA than the extent to which the administration can redesign farm policies, particularly the Federal Farm Subsidy Program.

According to Mr. Hoefner, the existing program fails because it pays farmers per harvested unit, rewarding those who attain high yields of subsidized crops. At the same time, he says, it discourages farmers from planting the less chemically intensive, less soil-erosive crop varieties that are not covered by federal subsidies. "We have to reduce the penalties for farmers who try to diversify," he says. "There's no incentive for farmers to take care of the land."

Lack of incentive

Low-input sustainable agriculture has become a contentious topic among academics and lawmakers, but farming experts in the field have had trouble selling the idea directly to farmers.

Greg Welsh, a field representative for the Iowa State University Extension Service, notes that Iowa farms spend about $300 million on fertilizer each year. Yet a recent Harris Poll found that three-quarters said they would prefer to use fewer chemicals.

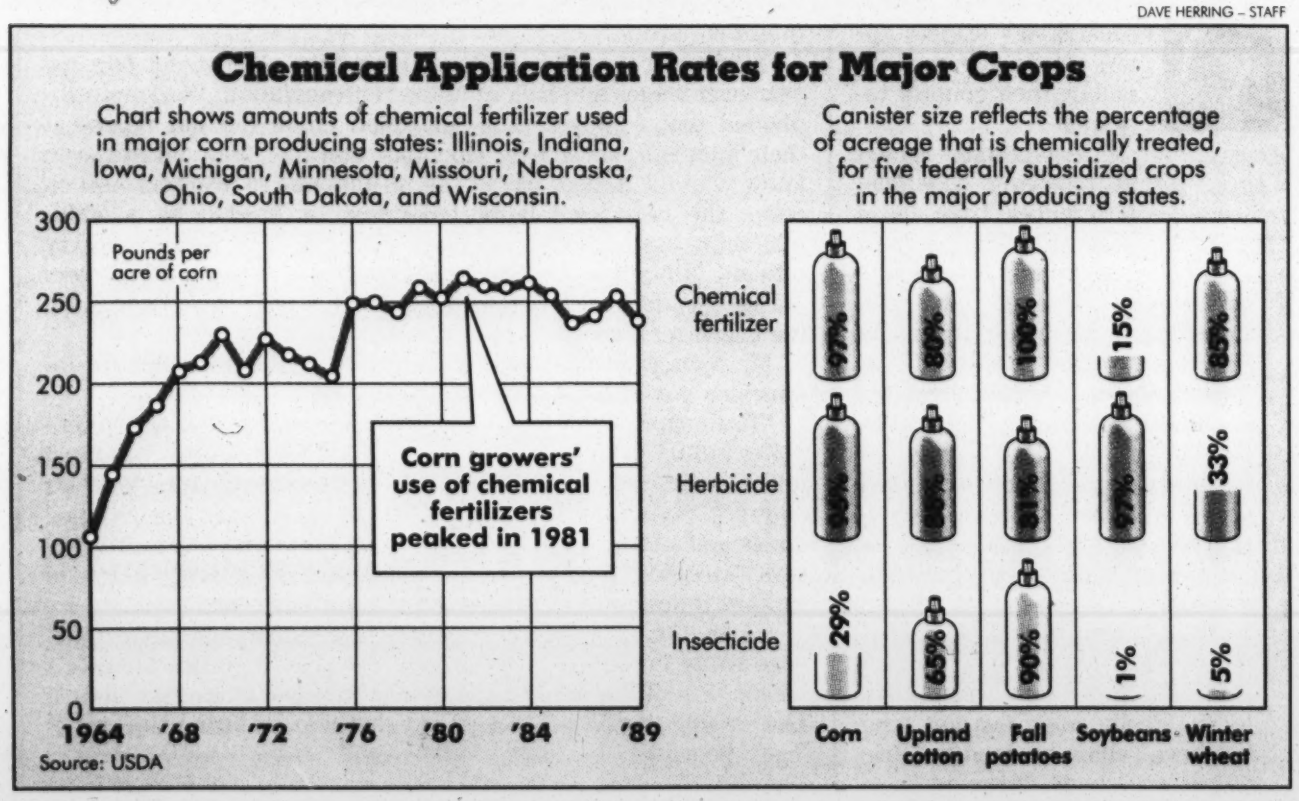
Welsh says that when he sits down with farmers, he explains that LISA methods will increase their long-term potential. But he says that his message is often stifled by the fact that, without any federal inducements, chemical farming makes more immediate financial sense than sustainable agriculture.

"Farmers are leery of risks," he says, "and they see this as a big change. I can't tell you how much incentives would help. We've got the technology to grow food with-

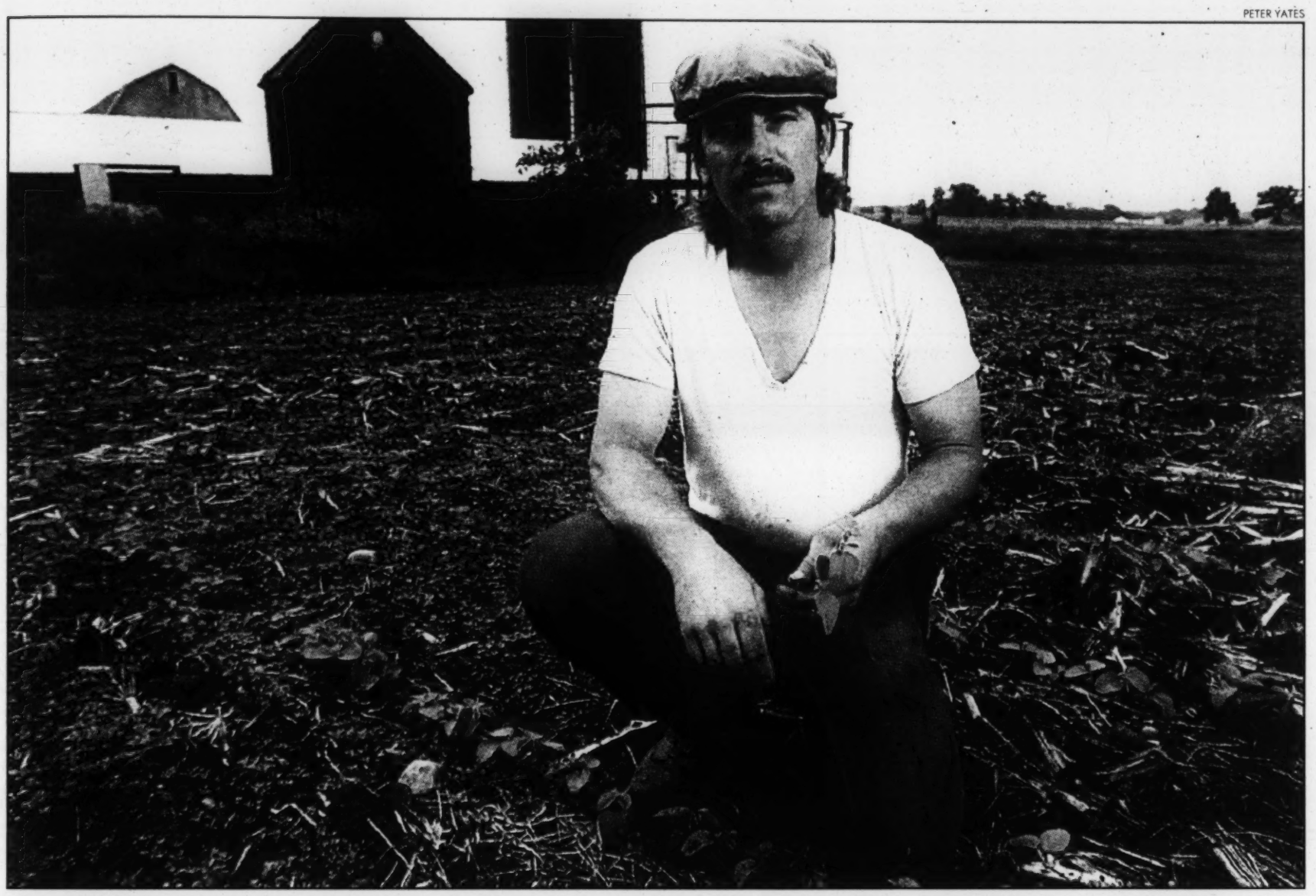
NEAL J. MENSCHEL – STAFF/FILE

INSECT CONTROL: *A tractor pulls a sprayer that is spreading pesticide on bean plants in a field near Jackson, Miss.*

DAVE HERRING – STAFF



PETER YATES



FERTILE FIELD: *Michigan farmer Paul Guenther cut his use of synthetic chemicals, introduced natural methods to improve the soil, and grew healthier crops.*

out polluting the land, but we don't have the national leadership."

While federal policymakers prepare to hammer out the next generation of farm programs, speculation continues about the effects chemical reduction might have on the character of American farming.

According to George Bird of the USDA's Committee on Sustainable Agriculture, 15 percent of the active farms in the US now produce 85 percent of the total crop yield. But the proliferation of low-input sustainable agriculture, he says, might reverse this decades-old trend toward large, high-yield, incorporated farms.

Hope for family farmers

Bird explains that the amount of labor required of farmers increases as their chemical use declines. Therefore, he says, adoption of the techniques associated with low-input sustainable agriculture would induce a shift in farm patterns. He argues that large farms with salaried employees would have a more difficult time adjusting to the increased labor demands than would smaller, more diversified units run by families or cooperative groups.

Bird says this shift would not only stabilize small-scale farming operations, it would also create job opportunities. "We're not talking about summer jobs for teenagers," he says. "We're talking about meaningful entreprenurial opportunities for adults as farmers. Many of these people will be working back on the land."

While the idea of LISA prompting a shift toward small-scale farming appeals to Dennis Keeney, director of the Leopold Center for Sustainable Agriculture in Iowa, he raises questions about its likelihood. "The scenario is beautiful," he says, "but I don't know how it's going to get paid for."

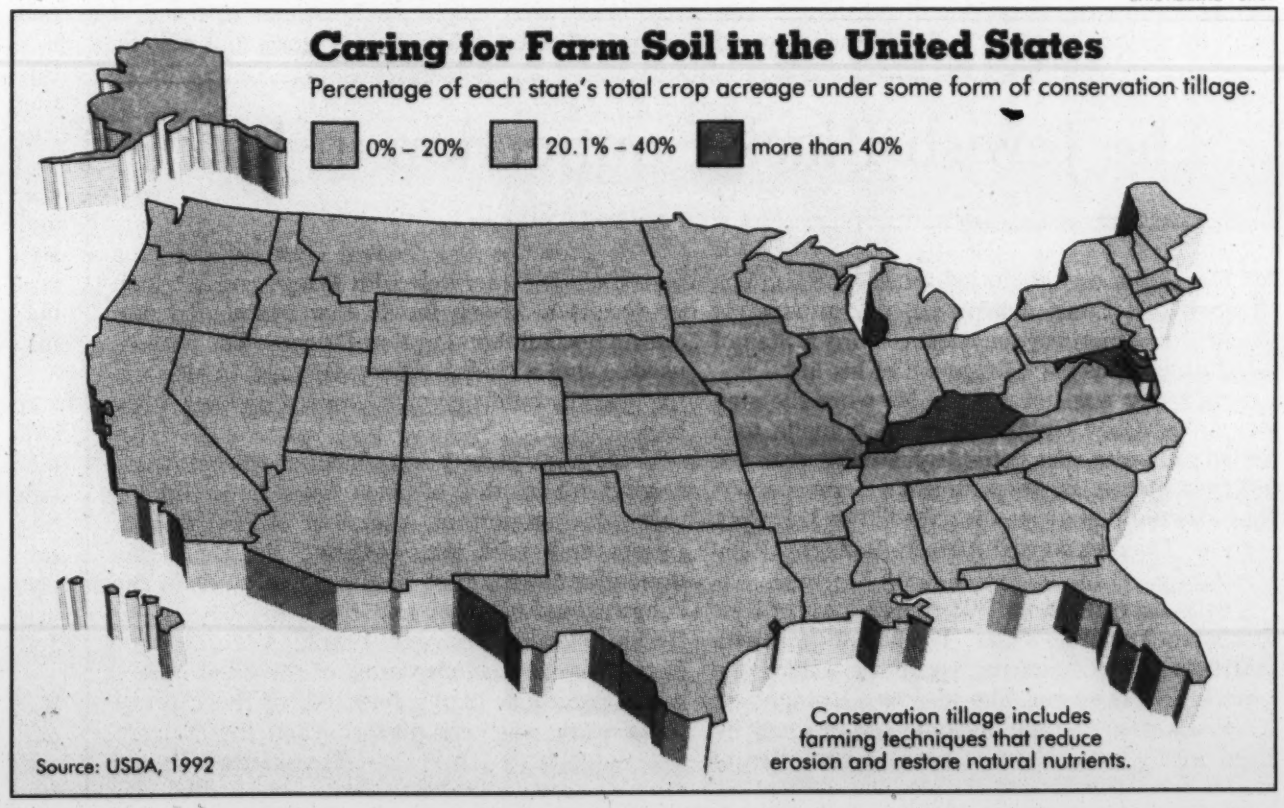
Mr. Keeney says that if the current world-market conditions continue, commodity prices will never reach a level that might support an increase in job growth in the agricultural sector. As things stand, he says, the only producers who would be able to afford increased labor are large corporate farms.

Keeney also suggests that the proposed 1994 Farm Bill might shape the complexion of farming far more powerfully than the rise of LISA. He cites an Iowa State University study that found the bill's provision to limit the acreage eligible for subsidies would hit small operations harder than large ones.

If the bill is enacted in its present form, Keeney says, small farmers would have an even tougher time dealing with the demands of increased labor. "It's hard to see a different scenario," he says.

In Michigan, Paul Guenther brushes the dark soil from his hands. "I hope to see more natural, responsible production," he says. "If you don't get down on your knees and get your hands dirty, how do you know what's going on?"

DAVE HERRING - STAFF


Caring for Farm Soil in the United States
Percentage of each state's total crop acreage under some form of conservation tillage.
0% – 20%
20.1% – 40%
more than 40%
Conservation tillage includes farming techniques that reduce erosion and restore natural nutrients.
Source: USDA, 1992

FAMILY FARMER PREACHES ORGANIC LAND PRACTICES

DEXTER, MICH.

■ Paul Guenther's business address is also his boyhood home. With his wife, Gwen, and his two daughters, he works the land his father began farming 40 years ago. Their family roots are firmly planted in the soil of southeastern Michigan.

But even though Mr. Guenther is cautious by nature and concerned primarily with the bottom line, his farming operation is far from conservative. By the current standard of agriculture in America, Guenther is a revolutionary.

After attending seminars, reading reports, and consulting with a variety of experts, Guenther met a group called Farm for Profit that encourages farmers to use more environmentally sound agricultural products and methods. He has become a persuasive voice in Washtenaw County, Mich., for what is termed low-input sustainable agriculture.

Just as Guenther spends a great deal of time preaching change, he also devotes himself to its practice. On an average day, he works from dawn until past sunset, managing livestock, working on machinery, and tending to his fields. He takes pride in his ability to determine the health of his soil by the smell of it, the number of worms a handful contains, or how fast it soaks up rain water. Often working on his hands and knees, he tinkers with a wide variety of experimental farming techniques. "I've turned my whole farm into a test plot," he says.

One of his more elaborate trials has been growing a variety of crops organically, without chemicals. So far, the experiment has proved to be profitable and soil-friendly, but Guenther says his production has been hampered by the lack of an established distribution system for organic goods. He must contact retailers himself and deliver their orders in his own less-than-reliable trucks.

As a result of this difficulty, Guenther says he lowered his organic production last year from 7 percent to 1 percent of his 700-acre crop. "I'd like to go organic," he says. "It's not that I don't believe it can be done, but it's tough to make contacts."

While Guenther concedes that he can only adapt a small percentage of his experiments to the whole farm, he says his efforts to improve his land stewardship have lifted an added burden from his conscience.

"I think it's important to spread the word about these techniques," he says. "If we all pitch in a little bit, it adds up to a lot. I'm concerned about the kind of world we're giving our children."

– S. W.

WORTH NOTING ON TV

By Alan Bunce

■ **WEDNESDAY**

Wimbledon *(NBC, 10 a.m. to noon)*: From England, coverage of men's quarterfinal matches in the classic tennis tournament. (NBC also airs an update from 11:35-11:50 p.m. each day of play.)

Washington National Cathedral *(PBS, 9-10 p.m.)*: One of the more remarkable buildings in the nation's capital is the Cathedral Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, a splendid edifice built in the medieval European Gothic tradition but designed to reflect the ecumenical American spirit (although it is also the chief mission church of the Episcopal Diocese of Washington). George Washington's architect Pierre L'Enfant conceived the idea for "a great church envisioned for national purposes." This documentary traces not only its eight decades of construction – Teddy Roosevelt attended the cornerstone-laying in 1907 – but also the moving legacy of leaders and thinkers who have spoken there (it's where Martin Luther King Jr. gave his last Sunday sermon, for instance) or who are buried there, among them Helen Keller. Besides interviews, hymns and secular music are offered, and certain camera shots show off the physical wonders of the place. George Page narrates.

Schwarzkopf in Vietnam: A Soldier Returns *(CBS, 10-11 p.m.)*: H. Norman Schwarzkopf, the man identified in the public mind mainly as the commander in the Persian Gulf War, has had another war deeply in his thoughts for some 30 years: Vietnam, where he served two tours of duty in the 1960s. In this program he says that originally he was "crushed by the fact that the American people had rejected me and my profession" but that "I am a different man today ... because of the Gulf War." Now retired and working for CBS – he is billed as a correspondent in this production – the general returns to Vietnam as a kind of exorcism. Dan Rather joins Schwarzkopf as he visits some of the battlefields and other spots that have stayed with him. The program also samples some CBS News coverage of the Vietnam conflict, footage that helped dub it "the living-room war."

Please check local listings for these programs, especially the one on PBS.

ARTS

That Good Old Romance Thing

Nora Ephron's film, while enjoyable, nonetheless engages in narrow sex-role stereotyping

By David Sterritt
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

'SLEEPLESS in Seattle," the new romantic comedy directed by Nora Ephron, is a likable little picture in many ways.

Tom Hanks plays a widowed man grappling with the challenge of reordering his life, raising his young son, and overcoming memories of the idyllic marriage he's lost. Meg Ryan plays a single woman who's about to marry a fellow she almost loves – and can't help wondering if a more exciting possibility might be waiting for her somewhere.

The two don't meet until the movie is almost over, but it's clear from the start that this Mr. and Ms. Right will find each other before the final credits.

Along the way they muddle through various problems, cope with his precocious son and her not-quite-right fiancé, and edge toward the sentimental climax that pictures like this usually provide.

Their adventures are accompanied by classic songs that swell from the soundtrack to keep us amused even when the action slows to a crawl.

Although it's capably made, there's not much depth to "Sleepless in Seattle" unless you pay attention to a provocative question it implicitly raises: Are there such a thing as "guy" movies and "gal" movies? Do some kinds of entertainment just naturally please men and leave women cold, while others just as naturally do the opposite?

The ingredient that raises this issue in Ephron's film is a series of clips from an old movie: "An Affair To Remember," made in 1957, with Cary Grant and Deborah Kerr as lovers who pursue romance despite all odds. "Sleepless in Seattle" is loaded with female characters who endlessly watch, refer to, and cry over this weepy so-called woman's movie from almost 40 years ago. It's also loaded with male characters who yawn at Grant and Kerr, preferring macho pics like "The Dirty Dozen" and sneering at the very idea of getting emotionally worked up over a movie.

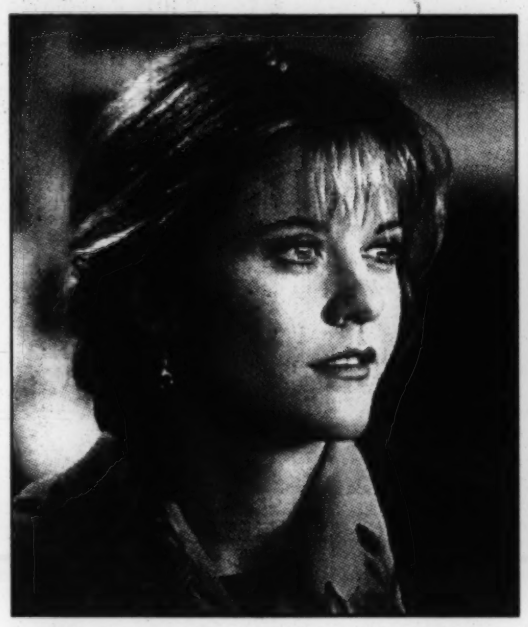
Some people would agree with Ephron's idea that men and women have different priorities in this area. An example might be Marilyn Quayle, who raised a commotion when she spoke about the "natural essence of women" at the Republican National Convention last year. If she's right and women do have a natural essence, it stands to reason that their tastes in cinema would fall in line with this. Men, who presumably have an essence of their own, would always seek different paths.

Others would dispute this whole idea, arguing that anyone who talks about a natural essence probably has a specific definition in mind – and is likely to see those who vary from the mold as unnatural, nonessential, or both.

I guess my natural essence has gone astray, because I'd rather see a sensitive 1950s melodrama than a boisterous war picture any day, and I think Cary Grant is more fun to watch than half the Dirty Dozen gang put together. I enjoyed parts of "Sleepless in Seattle," but I don't like the way it divides its characters along rigged-up gender lines.

I also object to its view of destiny running our lives and loves. If you took this movie seriously, you'd think there was no such thing as individual volition. Once your gender is determined, and fate has decided your romantic partner, all you have to do is follow your essence and wait for your happy ending to come around.

PHOTOS BY BRUCE MCBROOM/TRISTAR PICTURES



'SLEEPLESS IN SEATTLE': *Meg Ryan (left) and Tom Hanks star in Ephron's romantic comedy.*

"Sleepless in Seattle" doesn't mean to spark philosophical debates, but its attitudes are so sharply defined that it does seem to be pushing an agenda at times. More generally, it's an old-fashioned picture in many ways – including good ways such as its lack of titillation and its good-natured star performances. In this way the movie appears to argue for an old-fashioned movie world in which issues, genders, and relationships were as clear-cut as the black-and-white cinematography that often brought them to the screen.

While it's easy to take nostalgic pleasure in this approach, it's worth remembering that the best old movies rarely embraced simplistic notions of love and destiny. Instead they conveyed their own complexities in ways more subtle than most of today's filmmakers would understand.

Hanks and Ryan are pleasant company throughout "Sleepless in Seattle," and Rob Reiner and Rosie O'Donnell are amusing as their guy-type and gal-type best friends.

The supporting cast also includes Bill Pullman as the fiancé and Ross Malinger as the hero's son, who sets the story in motion when he calls a radio-show psychologist for help in combating his dad's blues.

The picture has been handsomely shot by Sven Nykvist, whose legendary photographic talents are as eloquent in the Pacific Northwest as in his native Sweden, where he honed his skills on numerous Ingmar Bergman classics. Ephron wrote the screenplay with David Ward and Jeff Arch.

■ *"Sleepless in Seattle" has a PG rating. It contains some vulgar language and talk about sexual matters.*

The Jewish-Black Connection in Jazz

NEW YORK

IT is one of the odd little footnotes to jazz history that Louis Armstrong, the greatest of African-American musicians, wore a Star of David around his neck for much of his life.

Armstrong was not Jewish. He wore the star, biographer Gary Giddins says, in homage to a Jewish influence that dated to his childhood. Mr. Giddins offered some persuasive evidence last Thursday night at a concert called "The Jazz Connection: The Jewish and African-American Relationship."

The concert at Avery Fisher Hall, part of New York's week-long JVC Jazz Festival, began with contrasting performances by a Jewish cantor and a black gospel singer. The idea was to highlight the similarities in their melodic styles, each infused with a mournfulness born of centuries of exile and suffering.

The audience was treated to a snippet of a tape-recorded interview with Armstrong in which he recalls a Jewish family that befriended him during his childhood in New Orleans. The parents used to sing a Yiddish lullaby. On tape, in his soulful, gravelly bullfrog voice, Armstrong sang a few bars.

Jews have played an influential role in jazz – second only to that of black Americans, Giddins says. More important, a number of Jewish composers embraced jazz. "Clearly," he says, "the dominant Jewish part in the equation is in the songwriting." George and Ira Gershwin, Irving Berlin, Richard Rodgers, Harold Arlen, Jerome Kern – the list includes most of the great American songwriters of the first half of the century. Their work was also performed at the concert.

– Associated Press

The Peacock Room Reopens at the Freer

By Louise Sweeney
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

A TEAL-BLUE peacock the size of a turkey strutted and preened on the steps of the Freer Gallery, reminding visitors of Whistler's famous Peacock Room, which has reopened at the Freer after an eclipse of 4 1/2 years.

The gallery, which was built by Midwestern industrialist Charles Freer in 1923, was the first of the Smithsonian Institution's art museums to house an Asian collection as well as Freer's American favorites from Whistler to Winslow Homer. It reopened this year after a $26 million expansion and renovation project.

Across the Freer courtyard ablaze with red geraniums, school children pushed and peered to catch another glimpse of the peacock, his train sweeping down the steps, a long fan of blue and green feathers with gold eyes, his neck a curved column of iridescent sapphire feathers. On a higher tier of stairs, his drabber, less flamboyant mate watched him with a quiet eye, although she too has something to be proud of: It's rumored that she has laid an egg somewhere in this pricey nest of great art. The pair of peacocks will be in residence all summer.

James McNeil Whistler's homage to the peacock, which he called "Harmony in Blue and Gold: the Peacock Room," was first designed as the dining room in shipbuilder Frederick Leyland's London home. It was bought by Charles Freer and installed in his Detroit home, and later moved to his museum.

Stepping into the Peacock Room is like walking into an oil painting. As the light changes, the walls can look either hunter green or teal blue; the room also contains the fairytale-like Whistler oil, titled "The Princess from the Land Of Porcelain," of a graceful brunette in a flowing gold robe.

On one full wall, Whistler did a portrait of two peacocks facing off, their feathers lit by gold leaf. It is said that one symbolizes Whistler, the other Leyland. They had a confrontation over what had been done to Leyland's dining room and the resulting bill.

There's more Whistler art throughout the Freer, since this is the largest and most extensive collection of Whistlers in the world. Among the 58 beauties are his "Caprice In Purple and Gold: the Golden Screen" and "Nocturne: Blue and Gold – Valparaiso."

In this vast museum of pale-gray marble and limestone halls, there are 19 galleries, many of them devoted to Chinese, Japanese, Buddhist, South Asian, Islamic, Korean, and Ancient Near-Eastern Art. Freer liked it all and collected it in his five trips around the world.

JOHN TSANTES AND JEFFREY CRESPI/FREER GALLERY OF ART, WASHINGTON

'HARMONY IN BLUE AND GOLD' (1876-77): *The restored east wall of Whistler's Peacock Room.*

Life With Author Lillian Hellman Was Hardly a 'Cakewalk'

By Karen Campbell
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

BY her own admission, writer Lillian Hellman was a difficult woman. A provocative, controversial figure with a brilliant mind, the hard-drinking, chain-smoking Hellman was as renowned (or lambasted) for her larger-than-life personality as for her reputation as one of America's most significant dramatists (including eight original plays and three memoirs.)

By most accounts, she was irascible, intractable, sarcastic, and possessed of a caustic wit and sharp tongue. She was ruled most of her life by a seething, barely controlled anger that erupted in hostility toward friends and enemies alike. Hellman loved a good fight.

In Peter Feibleman's new play, "Cakewalk," produced by the American Repertory Theatre and starring Elaine Strich and John Slattery, audiences are treated to another side of Hellman. Though Feibleman doesn't flinch from portraying Hellman's least admirable qualities, he somewhat downplays her vituperative spirit and shows the more private persona as well, with qualities that include warmth, flashes of unabashed almost girlish enthusiasm, and a poignant vulnerability.

"Cakewalk" is a love story, but, in the spirit of Hellman's own writing voice, it is devoid of sentimentality and laced with a sharp, devastating humor.

Based on his book "Lilly: Reminiscences of Lillian Hellman," Feibleman's play revolves around his own relationship with the dramatist. They first met at the Feibleman home when Peter was only 10, and Hellman nicknamed him Cuff.

The play picks up again when Cuff and Hellman begin attending the same literary parties after the successful reception of Feibleman's first novel. He was 28. She was in her 50s. From there, the two develop an unusual kinship that spans the remainder of Hellman's life, until her death in 1984 at the age of 79.

Act I of "Cakewalk" is a gem. Under the direction of Ron Daniels, the play moves smoothly from brief flashbacks to the current action at Hellman's house on Martha's Vineyard, where Cuff has retreated to get his new novel on track. Hellman is both confessor and teacher, berating the young novelist to confide his secrets and deepen the details of his work. "What are you hiding," she repeatedly badgers him. "You're cheating."

THEATER

CAKEWALK
Play by Peter Feibleman.
At the American Repertory Theatre through July 17.

Over the course of the summer, Cuff's initial nervousness in the presence of "the great writer" gradually dissolves. He responds to Hellman's baiting with taunts of his own, and soon the two are bantering and bickering with easy camaraderie. Despite the obvious age disparity, the sexual tension mounts and the two become lovers.

Act II is less successful, overly long, and mired in the difficulties of the pair's transcontinental relationship, as Cuff travels to his native New Orleans to "find himself," then to Hollywood to write movie scripts.

Though the agreed upon relationship between them is without strings, Hellman keeps turning up at Cuff's door, jealous over his many sexual partners. The clever banter of Act I is replaced with carping, though there are some funny scenes and wonderfully telling moments – an ashtray fight, a dispute over the merits of celery just minutes after Hellman enters Cuff's door. The act spans more than 20 years, showing Cuff's loyalty and devotion at the end of Hellman's life when she has been debilitated by strokes and is nearly blind.

The classy Broadway veteran Strich is remarkably cast as Hellman. Her charismatic presence makes the older woman-younger man attraction quite credible. Though her focus seemed to wander slightly on press night, she gave a lively visceral performance, her character voluble yet never overplayed.

John Slattery, who carried the play with spoken narration and asides to the audience, was wonderfully natural as Cuff, from his introduction as a stuttering young neophyte through maturity to a confident middle-aged writer. Stephanie Roth and Matthew Rauch ably tackled a variety of supporting roles. Roth's roles occasionally veered into caricature, but she was very affecting as Esther, Cuff's only long-term love interest.

Tony Straiges's lovely set design included an effective use of scrims and backdrops on which were projected evocative landscapes and locations (projection design by Sage Carter.) Howell Binkley's lighting design had an annoying tendency to fade in and out inappropriately. Carly Simon's lyrical incidental music added atmosphere at key spots.

SPORTS

WIMBLEDON MEDIA LOVE AGASSI, LEAVE COURIER

WIMBLEDON, ENGLAND

■ Reigning Wimbledon men's champion (and No. 8 seed) Andre Agassi entertained more than a hundred journalists last week at a post-match press conference that produced not one serious question about his tennis. It dwelled for almost half an hour on his wrist injury, his clothes, his hair, his new racket, and ... Barbra Streisand.

He was followed a few minutes later by No. 3 seed Jim Courier, the top money-winner this year, a recent world's No. 1 player, and a winner of four Grand Slam titles.

Only seven journalists stayed to talk with Courier. The first question: "Do you mind that most of the press have gone?"

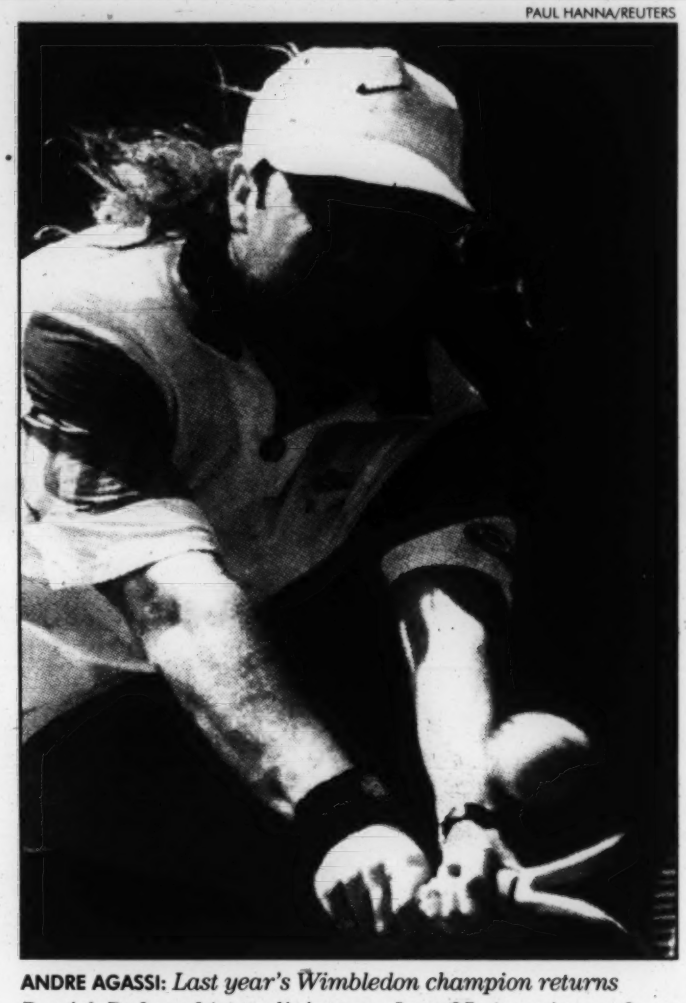
"Not at all," Courier said with a wry smile. "If I win this event one of these years, I don't think it'll be the same, but I haven't made it to the semifinals yet...." At press time, he was to face South African Wayne Ferreira.

Courier talked about how burned out he was after his defeat in the French Open final early in June, and how he put up with double jet lag to take a few days on the beach at home in Florida before Wimbledon.

"Being home is a lot different than being in a hotel room, no matter how nice the hotel or city. It's where you have your car, your clothes, your friends. You're in your environment. I've decided never to be away from home for more than a month at a time."

– Kim Shippey

PAUL HANNA/REUTERS



ANDRE AGASSI: *Last year's Wimbledon champion returns Patrick Rafter of Australia's serve June 25. Agassi won, 3 sets to 1. Men's and women's finals are scheduled this weekend.*

Arthur Ashe Memoir: Many Roles

By Ron Scherer

IT is a sports image of the 1970s: Arthur Ashe, Centre Court at Wimbledon. His opponent: the brash and talented Jimmy Connors at the peak of his career. Against the odds, Ashe prevails.

If Ashe had ended his career in June 1975 amid the strawberries and cream of Wimbledon, he would have gone down in history solely as a superb tennis player. But, as it turned out, there was more to Ashe than tennis.

There was Ashe the political activist, willing to be arrested outside the South African embassy in order to keep the spotlight on apartheid. There was Ashe the author, writing a multivolume history of African-American athletes, after he found out that no one had made a recent effort. And there was Ashe the Davis Cup captain, elegantly representing his country when John McEnroe and others were national embarrassments on the tennis court.

There was still more to Ashe, whose memoir, "Days of Grace," has been published to coincide with the Wimbledon tournament. Ashe, who died this year of what was diagnosed as AIDS, paints a fascinating self-portrait of a man who would not let any barrier diminish his life.

He had overcome racism starting when he was a youth, when he was not allowed to compete against white players. He had faced awesome physical challenges, including two open-heart surgical operations. And now he was facing a fatal illness

His sickness only reinforced Ashe's beliefs. As he explains, "I had lost many matches on the tennis court, but I had seldom quit." From his experience as an athlete, he knew that "in times of danger I had to respond with confidence, authority, and calm."

DAYS OF GRACE
By Arthur Ashe and Arnold Rampersad
Alfred A. Knopf, 317 pp., $24

That he does. Ashe does not wallow in self-pity even though doctors found that he contracted the AIDS virus from a blood transfusion only one week before the government announced it had found a way to screen the nation's blood supply for the virus. Ashe never asks, "Why me?"

Instead, Ashe did what he did best: He traveled around the country promoting AIDS awareness; he set up a foundation to fund international AIDS research and alleviate suffering; he began an association whose goal is to promote academic improvement for African-American athletes. As Ashe recounts in the book, "These are extraordinary conditions, and you have to step up."

At the same time, Ashe found solace in the spiritual. His quest led him to the theologian Howard Thurman, whose poem "The Threads in My Hand" struck a chord within Ashe. The speaker in the poem says he holds many threads linking his life to others. But there is one thread that is special: "One thread is a strange thread – it is my steadying thread.... God's hand holds the other end...."

One of the main threads of Ashe's life was his family, which gave him great joy. As he wrote the memoir, Ashe and his wife Jeanne Moutoussamy-Ashe were raising their daughter, Camera. At the end of the book is a special chapter Ashe wrote to his daughter.

The chapter is written from the perspective of a loving father who knows he will not watch his daughter grow up, graduate from school, and have boyfriends or children of her own. It is an intensely personal chapter.

Those who read this book will always have the example of Ashe's life to help them get through the tough spots.

■ *Ron Scherer is on the Monitor's staff in New York.*

A Boston Olympics: An Unlikely Prospect

MORE than 100 Boston businesses have joined forces to explore the possibility of hosting the Olympics sometime in the 21st century.

Boston has many selling points, including its reputation as a sports-minded metropolis, its cosmopolitan atmosphere, and its geographic compactness. And according to one business community insider writing in the Boston Globe, preliminary studies "suggest" that Boston has better infrastructure and facilities "now or under way" than any other possible American candidate city.

The down side? It may lack the civic hunger needed to successfully stage such an event. Do Bostonians care as passionately about getting the Games as, say, people in Atlanta, Barcelona, and Seoul? And what of the city's notorious politics, which for years have tied up efforts to replace the aging Boston Garden with a modern arena, a project only recently put in motion? Olympic representatives might be wary of a community unable to break ground during Larry Bird's 13 years with the Boston Celtics.

SPORTS NOTEBOOK

Jordan's successful souvenir quest

The June 28 issue of Sports Illustrated carries a telling lead photo with its article on the dramatic finish to the National Basketball Association Finals. It shows Most Valuable Player Michael Jordan ducking under his exultant Chicago Bull teammates, chasing after the game ball. In one of the best heads-up plays of the six-game series with the Phoenix Suns, he retrieved the prized memento. The act was a telling example of Jordan's presence of mind on the court. For his sake, it was probably a good thing the Bulls clinched the title on the road, where a championship team is less likely to be mobbed. In fact, the stunned Phoenix fans were mostly frozen in disbelief.

Expansion teams worthy of attention

For an expansion team, the Florida Marlins are impressive. They've already swept a series from the defending National League champion Atlanta Braves and are well ahead of the last-place New York Mets in the National League East. If they maintain their winning clip, the Marlins could win 73 of 162 games, a slight improvement on the previous best first-year effort of the 1961 Los Angeles (now California) Angels, who won 70.

The Colorado Rockies, the NL West cellar dwellers, have looked more the bumbling newcomers, but even they enjoy one surprising beacon of success, cleanup hitter Andres Galarraga, who is batting .414, or almost 170 points better than his recent norm and better than anyone else in baseball. If the Marlins and Rockies appear to have better talent than their expansion predecessors, the reason may lie in a draft that allowed them to pick players from both leagues, not just the National.

Touching other bases

■ Pitcher Anthony Young seems the perfect symbol of the New York Mets' frustration. Manager Dallas Green says some of the other players may be trying too hard to win for Young, whose personal losing streak has now reached a record 24 games. With Sunday's loss to the St. Louis Cardinals, 5-3, he broke Cliff Curtis's 82-year-old major-league record. But Young has shown he can pitch, having recorded 15 saves last year in relief.

■ The big question in Wednesday's NBA draft is who will select Brigham Young University's 7-ft., 6-in. Shawn Bradley. The Orlando Magic, as the result of a lottery, have the first pick, but they can afford to pass on Bradley and take Michigan's 6-ft., 9-in. Chris Webber, since they already have 7-foot Rookie-of-the-Year Shaquille O'Neal.

On the other hand, Orlando may want to pursue the "Twin Tower" concept. Bradley's game may be rusty, since he has spent the last two seasons completing a two-year church mission in Australia. Still, many scouts see far greater potential for him, especially if he gains weight, than has been realized by 7-ft., 7-in. Manute Bol, the Sudanese native who has not made much of an impact in the NBA.

– Ross Atkin

ITDP

Institute for Transportation & Development Policy

Promoting Bicycles To Meet Basic Human Needs and Preserve the Environment

Women like these often walk more than five miles just to bring water and firewood back to their homes and families. With an inexpensive bicycle cart they could spend this time working in their fields, making handicrafts, or caring for their children.

In many developing countries, only one person in a hundred can afford an automobile. Four out of five people, however, could afford a bicycle. Yet every year major development agencies spend billions of dollars on roads and highways while making no provisions for bicycles and other forms of non-motorized transportation. Meanwhile, projects which could provide for the basic mobility needs of the people are forgotten.

To make matters worse, the growing number of automobiles both here and in developing countries are a major threat to the environment. Almost a third of the pollutants which are causing global warming come from motorized vehicle emissions, and these emissions are increasing by 3.5% every year.

If as many people in China had cars as we have here in the U.S., they would have to pave over 40% of their cropland for roads to accommodate them. The implications for the environment and the world's food supply are frightening.

ITDP works to persuade major lending agencies and developing country governments that people's basic mobility needs should be put ahead of the thoughtless expansion of highway infrastructure. We promote policies which support and encourage the use of the bicycle and other non-motorized modes of transportation. We send bicycles to places in need to demonstrate to larger donors that mobility needs can be met more equitably, for lower cost and without damaging the environment.

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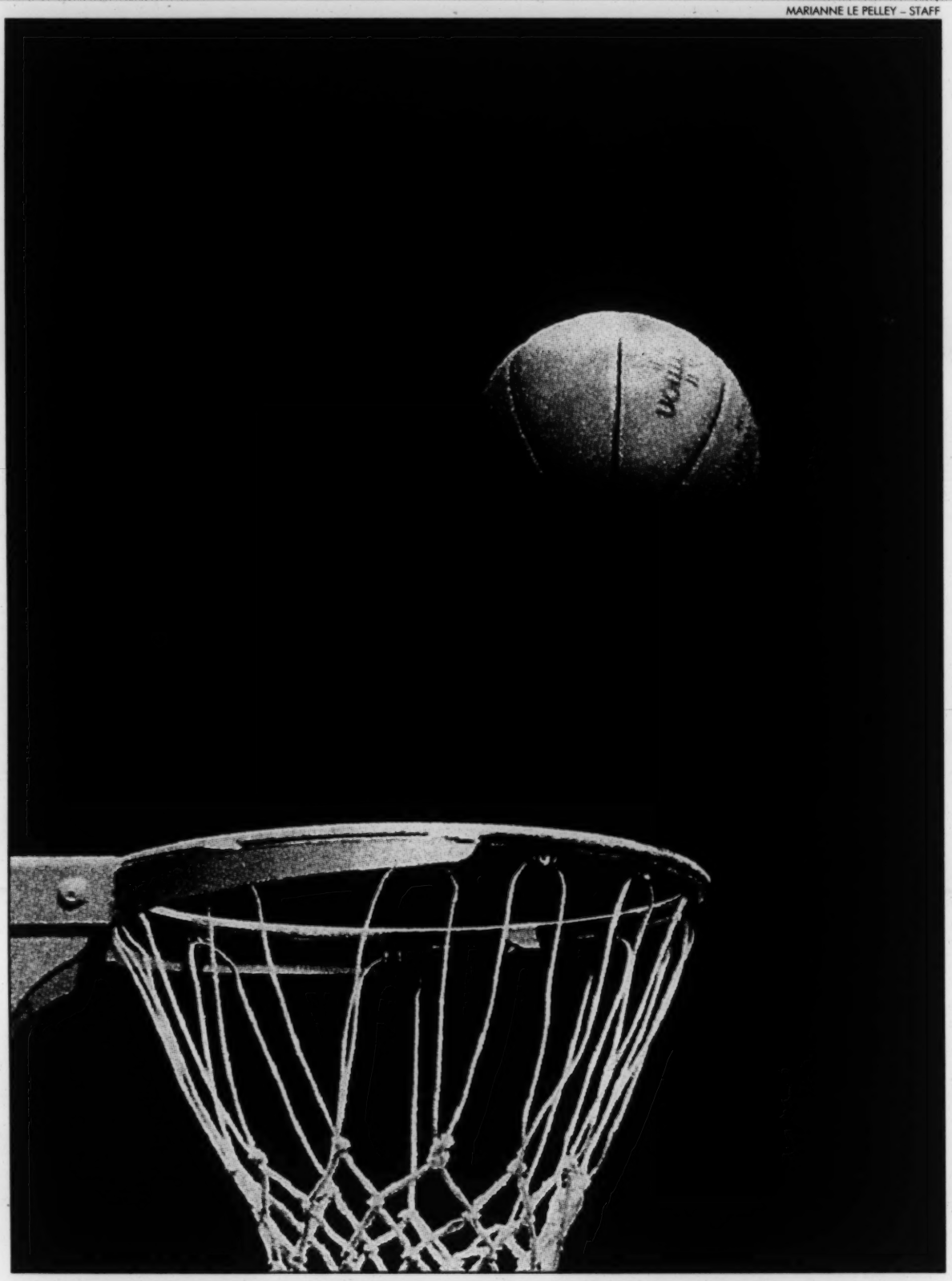

TWO KIDS WITH BOUNCE

ELEANOR and Bubba were bouncing a basketball between them on the stoop in front of their apartment building, waiting for an idea to come racing around the corner, like the neighborhood's tots on their bicycles. The afternoon was hot enough to make you sweat. Noisy traffic went by on the street. The first smells of dinner being cooked floated out of people's windows.

Eleanor's stomach growled. "I'm hungry," she said.

Bounce, bounce, bounce.

"Never mind that," Bubba said. "If we don't come up with something soon, it'll be too late. So think."

The trouble was that Eleanor had been thinking – hard. Where could they go to practice their shots, play one-on-one, or get into a game already under way? Not at the outdoor courts at the middle school where she and Bubba were sixth graders. Not at Mercy Park. Not behind Freeze's store. Not at the baskets next to the movie theater. Not way over on L Street, a place they rarely went because of all the street repairs.

They'd been everywhere with no success. The courts were occupied, mostly by bigger kids who wouldn't let them play, or were already too full of kids like themselves waiting for a game, or were unusable for some reason. The basket at Freeze's was missing its rim. The lines on the park's single court were being repainted. "Come back tomorrow!" a man had shouted.

No way – tomorrow was too late for a couple of kids who ate, drank, slept, dreamed, talked, argued, and basically lived for basketball. Not to play meant missing a day's worth of practice. Missing practice meant not getting better at something they loved to do. Not getting better was out of the question.

Bounce, bounce, bounce.

"Hey!" Eleanor finally exclaimed, loud enough to knock the ball from Bubba's hands. It rolled down the sidewalk and he had to run after it, between people's legs and baby carriages.

Eleanor was right behind him.

"You got something?" Bubba wondered. His face looked hopeful.

"Think I do," Eleanor said excitedly. "Remember when I got sent to the principal's office for dribbling my ball in the hallways? Well, while I was there I heard one of the gym teachers say the firemen over on Third Avenue set up a portable basket with a net and everything. It's mostly for kids: first come, first served.

Bubba let out a whistle. "You never told me that."

"I forgot."

"Well, what're we waiting for?"

To get to Third Avenue you had to cut through the park, pass a long line of taxis parked in front of the newest skyscraper-hotel in town, make your way down several side streets, jump a fence if you wanted to shortcut, zigzag between double-parked cars, and, being extra careful, cross two busy thoroughfares.

Eleanor and Bubba knew the way by heart.

"There's the station!" they both said at once.

"Where's the court?" Bubba wanted to know.

"Behind, I think, " Eleanor told him.

It was, but there was a problem: The court looked like a lake. Nearby, water was gushing out of a hydrant, while a young fireman watched. He saw the basketball under Bubba's arm.

"Sorry, kids," he said. "Needed to run off some water, make sure the pumps are working. Should be dry by morning."

More waiting – oh, no!

"Now what?" Bubba said with dismay.

"Might as well go home."

"Guess so. No, wait!"

Now it was Eleanor's turn to look hopeful.

Bubba shook his head, "I'm so dumb!"

"Right," Eleanor said with a laugh. "So tell me."

"It's my Uncle Will," Bubba explained. "He's a science teacher at the high school. It's his first year."

Eleanor said, "You mean Central? That's only a couple of streets over. The outdoor courts'll be closed this late. You think he'll be there and let us use the gym?"

Bubba thought it'd be worth a try. "What've we got to lose?" he said.

Bounce, bounce, bounce. They ran all the way.

Eleanor was right: The outdoor courts were fenced off. Imagine, perfectly good courts that no one was allowed to use once school let out. She and Bubba almost never came over this way. Besides, it was pretty far from home.

There were three or four cars in the parking lot, but the build-

Where could Eleanor and Bubba go to practice their shots, play one-on-one, or get into a game already underway? Not at the middle school.... Not at Mercy Park. Not behind Freeze's store. ... They'd been everywhere with no success.

ing looked closed up tight. All the lights were off. "Are any of those cars your uncle's?" Eleanor asked.

Bubba scratched his chin. "I don't think he owns a car," he said.

Quickly the two friends went all around the school looking for a way to get inside, but no doors were open. In fact, they were chained shut.

"Guess not," Bubba said.

"Let's try that last one," said Eleanor, "over by the dumpster."

Bubba hadn't even seen it. "OK."

And sure enough, their persistence paid off. One pull and the door opened. Just like that. Cool air and the smell of cleaning liquid came zooming out.

Eleanor and Bubba did a little dance.

"Let's find your uncle's classroom," she suggested.

"It's upstairs this way," Bubba told her. "He brought me here once to show me what it's going to be like for us in a few years. You won't believe how big the classrooms are and all the equipment they have. Test tubes and machines, globes and maps. A whole wall of microscopes. And the gym...."

Eleanor cut in, "I know the gym, Bubba. Remember? We've been over here a million times to watch the team."

"Oh, yeah. Forgot."

She gave him a funny look.

They went to the top of the stairs and through some double doors, and then they stopped. Facing them was a long, dark hallway. The shades on the windows were down, but just enough late-afternoon light came in at the bottom to show the way.

There wasn't a sound, not on this floor. In fact, not anywhere in the building. Their whispers were echoes.

"Er, Bubba," Eleanor said. "Maybe coming here so late wasn't such a good idea. It's sorta creepy. What if we get locked in?"

Bubba gulped. "No," he said softly. "There are cars in the lot. Some people are still here, and my uncle works late. Mom says so. Come on, it's Room 250."

They found it easily enough – locked. Empty.

"You think we can use the gym anyway?" Eleanor asked.

Bubba thought not.

"We'd get in trouble," he said. "My uncle too. If they don't want anyone using the outdoor courts, they sure don't want anyone inside. Besides, we wouldn't even know how to turn on the lights. We better go."

"Guess so," Eleanor said with disappointment.

Just then there was a loud bang, metal on metal.

KIDSPACE

'Kidspace' is a place on The Home Forum pages where kids can find stories that will spark imaginations, entertain with a tall tale, explain how things work, or describe a real-life event. These articles appear twice a month, usually on Tuesdays.

Eleanor and Bubba's mouths dropped open.

"The door!" they both shouted.

Down the stairs they ran, three at a time, but they were too late. The door they'd come in was locked, and the handle wouldn't turn. Not only that but the parking lot was now empty. Everyone had gone home.

Bounce, bounce, bounce.

"Now what?" Eleanor wanted to know.

"You tell me," Bubba said.

"There must be another way out."

"Right. Let's find it."

But there wasn't. All the doors except the one they'd come in were chained shut. As for the windows – weird little gadgets on every one made them impossible to open – not without breaking them, which was something they didn't want to do.

So they sat down on the steps to think.

"Too bad the office is locked or we could call home," Bubba said. "Mom could call my uncle and he could come let us out. We'd be in lots of trouble, but at least we'd be outa here. Safe at home, eating our dinner."

"I'll be grounded forever," Eleanor said with dismay.

"Wait!" Bubba shouted. "The gym!"

"What about it?"

"There's a pay phone down there. We've used it." He began to fish through his pockets. "Got any coins?"

Fortunately, Eleanor did.

"Way to go, Ellie!" Even in the near dark it was easy to find the gym and the phone. Eleanor gave a quarter to Bubba, who was about to put it into the slot when she stopped him. "Listen!"

Bounce, bounce, bounce.

The sound was unmistakable – someone was dribbling a ball. No doubt a basketball. No doubt in the gym. No doubt right on the other side of this door.

The two friends' faces lit up like a scoreboard.

"Couldn't be," Bubba said.

"Could," Eleanor said.

"But he's a scientist."

"So? You like science, too."

"Let's open the door and find out."

"Go ahead."

Bubba opened the door to the gym.

"Hi, kids," Uncle Will said. He was wearing a backwards baseball hat, Boston Celtics' T-shirt and shorts, and black high-top sneakers. "What brings you here?"

"Guess," Eleanor and Bubba said at once.

Everyone laughed.

Jeffrey Kelly

How Do We Deal With Brutality?

(Written especially for young people)

CHARLIE was terrified! He was nine years old, and the class bully said that he was going to beat Charlie up as soon as he left the school grounds. He didn't hate the bully and had no idea why the huge guy wanted to harm him.

So he did what all of us should do when we have to deal with brutality: he prayed! "God," he prayed, "I know you're all-powerful, and I know you love me, because you love all Your children. I'm going to trust You to take care of me." Suddenly he wasn't afraid anymore. He just walked out of the school. There was no sign of a bully. And never again was he threatened.

That happened to my husband many years ago. But brutality is something that has to be dealt with by every generation and by people of all ages, sexes, and classes. All around the world today large groups of innocent people are being treated with appalling brutality. The rest of the world watches in anguish, not quite knowing what to do. Civilization has for the most part progressed to the point where we realize that striking back at brutality *with* brutality doesn't heal anything.

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

Here in my own country, many children are afraid of going to school for fear of being shot or stabbed by a classmate! It doesn't matter whether the brutality takes place inside a school, or on a school bus, or in Bosnia. We must stop doing nothing and remember what Christ Jesus did about brutality.

Jesus was the most spiritually-minded man who ever lived. Yet he was unjustly arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced to death. What he had done was to heal sick people, teach people how to pray to God and how to obey His law of good. Nevertheless, his enemies first scourged him with a lash. Then they nailed him to a cross, and before friends took him down from it, a soldier stabbed him.

Throughout all this brutality, he never complained, or screamed with agony, or raged at the injustice of it all. What *was* he doing that enabled him to rise from the tomb only three days later? Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, tells us in her book *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures:* "Jesus could have withdrawn himself from his enemies. He had power to lay down a human sense of life for his spiritual identity in the likeness of the divine; but he allowed men to attempt the destruction of the mortal body in order that he might furnish the proof of immortal life."

Instead of escaping, Jesus prayed, the Bible tells us in Luke's Gospel: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." Jesus forgave instead of reacting with anger, resentment, bitterness, or hate. Because he expressed the love of God instead of hating, he rose from the tomb, victorious over his enemies. He proved that no matter how hard evil may try, it can't kill the Son of God, of divine Love. He set this wonderful example for all of us, for we are all sons and daughters of God, made in His image, as we're told in the very first chapter of the Bible. In *Science and Health* we also read of Christ Jesus: "He proved Life to be deathless and Love to be the master of hate."

Brutality, like some dread disease, can seem terrifyingly real. But, as Jesus taught and proved, when we put our complete trust in God, evil is powerless to harm us in any way. The best way to deal with brutality, then, is by praying, loving, and trusting God. And we can do all three all the time, at any time!

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EDITORIALS

Cruise-Missile Justice

BASED on the evidence presented at the United Nations Sunday as well as at weekend White House and Pentagon briefings, President Clinton's response to the alleged Iraqi-led assassination attempt against former President Bush was appropriate.

The attempt, allegedly planned by Iraqi intelligence, comes from a country that sponsors terrorism, that consistently and violently violates international law, and whose diplomatic machinery serves to obfuscate those violations and thwart attempts by the United Nations to hold Baghdad accountable for its actions. In short, the president had no credible option to pursue but cruise-missile justice. Had he not responded forcefully, not only would he have looked weak at home, but Iraqi President Saddam Hussein likely would have felt sufficiently emboldened to attack the Kurdish safe haven in the northern part of the country, where Iraqi troops have been massing.

Iraq claims that eight civilians were killed and another dozen injured, a tragedy for the families affected. But had the car bomb gone off in Kuwait City during Mr. Bush's April visit, the casualty rate there would have been much higher.

Saturday night's cruise missile attack on Iraq's intelligence headquarters in Baghdad has drawn support from two-thirds of Americans surveyed in a USA Today/CNN/Gallup Poll taken Sunday, as well as from members of Congress and United States allies in Europe.

However, despite the support for the use of force in this case and the signal the administration wants to send to countries that sponsor terrorism, it is well to remember the limits of force as a signal. The US bombing raid against Tripoli in 1986 was in retaliation for Libyan-sponsored terrorist attacks in Europe. Yet in 1988, the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, was traced to Libya.

Even in Iraq, Saddam's defeat in 1991 and subsequent US attacks on Iraqi radar installations and facilities since the Gulf war didn't deter the alleged attempt against Bush.

Nor is it clear whether force would be a credible option if a country such as North Korea, which has a history of state-sponsored attacks against South Korean officials, were to attempt to assassinate a US official.

In the forseeable future, force must remain an option in the battle against international terrorism. But its limits must be recognized.

'Greening' of Vermont

AT a time when the list of endangered species and habitats seems to grow longer by the day, Americans have become accustomed to hearing environmental alarms. But who could have predicted that the latest candidate for protection is not a specific species such as the snail darter or spotted owl, and not a natural resource such as clean air or pure water, but the verdant landscape of an entire state?

Vermont, all 9,609 square miles of it, has just been placed at the top of the 1993 list of "Most Endangered Historic Places." The designation, made by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, reflects the nonprofit group's concern that a proliferation of megamalls and chain discount stores threatens the area's beauty and serenity.

"The whole state is under siege," Richard Moe, president of the National Trust, has said, using the term "Sprawl Mart" to sum up his fears.

Is this first-place standing a "gross overreaction," as the head of the Vermont Chamber of Commerce has charged? Or is it a legitimate way to help environmental and protection groups capture public support as they guard against overdevelopment?

Probably both. Critics of the "most endangered" label have been quick to point out that the state already has exemplary environmental and land-use planning laws in place. Retail developers also insist that stores and malls provide jobs and stability. Yet the governor regards it as an "accurate" description of a problem.

Whatever the local consensus, the dubious award carries a larger significance. It sounds a warning, not only for the small state of Vermont but for every other place where "progress" appears to involve backward rather than forward steps. It serves as a reminder of the permanence of changes wrought by development.

Once a rain forest has been felled, for instance, its ancient trees and complex ecosystems are gone – for good. Closer to home, once a pasture has been paved over for a shopping mall, bringing with it traffic and stoplights and crowds, there is no going back to a bucolic state.

"Save the cows" is hardly a message that ranks in urgency with "Save the whales" or "Save the spotted owl." But it is the nature of environmental decline that it proceeds at a creep and a crawl. A little in the way of overreaction is not out of place if it alerts people to a problem before it's too late for anything but regrets.

Shaky Plan for Student Loans

Clinton's reforms based on dubious economic assumptions

By Perry D. Quick

"AMERICA at its best." That is how President Clinton has characterized his national-service initiative. Who could argue with his vision of Americans helping others, rebuilding their communities and being rewarded? A bold, beneficent aspect of the president's national-service initiative is his proposal to provide students with improved financial access to an education beyond high school.

But some aspects of this sweeping change do not add up: in particular, his proposal, which passed in the House of Representatives as part of the budget package, to shift the management and implementation from private-sector lending and guarantor institutions to the government. The administration estimates that this would save billions of dollars.

This is optimism beyond the bounds of credibility: The revenue estimates rely on assumptions about the efficiency of government that do not stand up to scrutiny.

The Congressional Budget Office, which backed away from earlier projections of large savings from direct government lending (from $6 billion to $4.27 billion), has lowered its estimate again, saying that earlier estimates failed to factor in a significant portion of the costs of administering student loans: $2.19 billion. The CBO also did not take into account transition costs of moving to a direct-lending program and relied on overly optimistic projections for servicing costs and likely defaults.

The impartial Congressional Research Service (CRS) has come out with three reports, each noting that the cost-savings argument is unrealistic and warning of the negative consequences if the government does not run the program efficiently.

This is not the first time that rosy assumptions about direct government lending have wilted under close scrutiny. Last fall, the General Accounting Office (GAO) concluded that a complete government takeover of student loans would save $4.8 billion during the first five years of the program. But the GAO staff recognized the fragility of its assumptions: "The values we assume for certain key variables strongly influenced our estimate of the savings achievable from direct lending."

Unfortunately, the staff's cautions were ignored, and the GAO's optimism helped whip up support for a radical shift to direct government lending, leading to its inclusion in the president's national-service plan. Pulling apart the GAO's assumptions layer by layer clearly reveals the study's flaws, some of which were repeated by the CBO. These flaws include:

■ Out-of-date economic assumptions. Updated assumptions about interest rates and inflation and corrected miscalculations of the savings that accrue from new provisions in Higher Education Act amendments combine to reduce purported savings by $1.1 billion.

■ Understated estimates of the costs of servicing loans. The GAO based these on what the Student Loan Marketing Association charges. But high volume, preferential costs of borrowing, and selective accounts keep those charges artificially low. Nonsubsidized, private guarantors that cover all eligible students from all institutions bear higher costs. If the government made loans directly, it would either have to inflate government personnel rolls or rely on third parties to process, document, and collect these loans. When more-realistic service costs are used in the GAO model, another $1.9 billion in projected savings vanishes.

■ A failure to factor the costs of auxiliary services that guarantors provide to hold down defaults and make the program effective. These include millions of phone calls and letters to help borrowers prevent defaults, training for school personnel, and quality-control activities. These costs erase another $1.2 billion in savings.

■ An assumption that government bureaucrats or their low-bid contractors would have the same incentive to prevent defaults as private-sector employees. Such optimism ignores the record: For a time, the federal government sent money directly to schools under a program called the Federal Insured Student Loan Program. The federal bureaucracy simply could not run the program. Eventually, the Department of Education asked Congress to turn the program over to state agencies and nonprofit organizations. Thus, the present system was born. Neither the GAO nor the administration has given us reason to believe that a new direct government loan system would not fizzle like its predecessor.

■ Ignoring the impact of a direct-loan program on the government's borrowing cost. Investors will demand higher returns for Treasury securities, forcing up the government's cost of borrowing. Just a five basis-point increase in the 10-year Treasury securities funding this program would cost the government another $100 million.

HAVING peeled away the layers, what is left of the GAO onion? A projected loss of $13 million for the first five years. The inescapable conclusion: Not only would a direct government lending program fail to save taxpayers a dime, but it could cost them money. Worse, the GAO's estimates do not factor in the true transition costs: The change would scare many lenders into pulling out of the current system quickly, leaving students scrambling in search of loans and the government on the hook for defaults.

Real savings can be achieved while still meeting the president's goals for education access and national service. The CRS has pointed out that adjustments to the current system would make this possible. In addition, a recent proposal by the Coalition for Student Loan Reform, a group of more than 50 participants in the student loan program, would streamline the processes and cut service fees to offer actual savings. Many of the elements of that plan have made their way into legislation that the Senate will be considering.

This alternate vision should be carefully considered before we blindly shift to a government bureaucracy-based approach that would disrupt so many students and educational institutions to achieve uncertain benefits.

■ *Perry D. Quick served as senior staff economist for the President's Council of Economic Advisers under former Presidents Carter and Reagan and as a senior economist at the board of governors for the Federal Reserve System.*

OPINION/ESSAYS

Washington wisely withdraws support from Angola's Savimbi and UNITA

US Covert Action: a Brief Inglorious History

By Richard C. Hottelet

THE Clinton administration has at last buried one of the great American covert operations of the post-war period. It has turned its back on Jonas Savimbi, head of UNITA, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, and recognized the so-called Marxist government against which it helped Mr. Savimbi wage war. But here, as elsewhere, Washington faces unintended consequences.

Covert operations by the United States began with the cold war, to oppose a Soviet Union suddenly transformed from ally to enemy that used every trick of hidden warfare to expand its influence. The end justified the means, but the price was high. Sicily should already have taught that lesson.

When the Allies planned to invade Sicily in 1943, they had not a single spy on the ground. The US Navy contacted Mafia boss Lucky Luciano, then in a New York prison. He and his gangsters gladly helped, for Mussolini had cracked down hard on the Sicilian Mafia. When the first troops landed, US intelligence had lists of contacts, mainly Mafiosi. When the Allied military government started constructing a democratic society, the Mafia, in positions of influence, rebuilt. From the black market it went on to corrupt Italian politics and take a leading role in the world drug trade.

After the war, covert action was aimed chiefly against the Soviet Union. In 1953, the US secretly ousted Prime Minister Muhammad Mossadeq of Iran, who hated the British and had nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. If anything, Mr. Mossadeq was a reactionary nationalist, but in accepting the communist Tudeh Party's support he aroused the suspicions of the Eisenhower administration. The CIA coup, textbook swift, restored the young Shah to power. Successive US presidents valued the Shah as a pillar of stability, blind to the fact that his megalomania alienated his people and opened the way for Ayatollah Khomeini, whose mullahs rule Iran today.

A more elaborate plot overthrew President Jacobo Arbenz of Guatemala in 1954. Washington denounced him as a communist on the flimsiest grounds. Feeling the pressure, he accepted Moscow's offer of some Czech weapons. More to the point, he had launched a land-reform program that largely expropriated the huge United Fruit Company (with the offer of compensation). The CIA organized a small invasion force. Arbenz fled, and United Fruit got its land back. However, since then Guatemala has lived a nightmare of harsh military rule, death squads, and bloody punitive expeditions against the Indian peasants. Nothing like it exists today in Latin America.

The US has supported any hustler who called himself anti-communist. Savimbi was an unsavory party in a power struggle; he refused to accept defeat in a free election.

Operation Zapata, which died in the Bay of Pigs in 1961, was also meant to overthrow a government. The 1,400 Cuban exiles in Brigade 2506 fought like lions, but the CIA's planning was absurdly amateurish, and direct US help was denied. The defeat consolidated Fidel Castro's rule at a time when internal opposition against him was growing. He gained international stature and value to the Kremlin. He sent 50,000 troops to Africa and helped push Soviet weapons and supplies to the Nicaraguan Sandinistas and the rebels in El Salvador. Even today he poses as the Cuban David against the Yankee Goliath that has tried at least eight times to murder him.

Billions of dollars went to the *mujahideen* of Afghanistan, who defeated the Soviet army in seven years of bitter war. Washington sent them money and weapons through Pakistan's inter-service intelligence. The largest share, by far, went to the most radical Islamic fundamentalist group, led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. Today, he is fighting other guerrilla groups, devastating Kabul, to seize full power and establish an Islamic regime. The US is trying to recover leftover Stinger missiles. Pakistan is expelling Arab volunteers who learned guerrilla war from the mujahideen and are now looking for service against "enemies of Islam" elsewhere.

As for Angola, "Marxism" in Africa has been only a label used by one-party systems to command obedience and get help from Moscow. It has now disappeared from Africa, as it would have in any case. But American administrations have supported any hustler who called himself anti-communist. Savimbi was an unsavory party in a struggle for power; he refused to accept defeat in a free election. In backing his UNITA, Washington found itself in bed with the apartheid right of South Africa, which simply wanted the war to continue, and with President Mobutu Sese Seko of neighboring Zaire who provided the supply line. Mr. Mobutu, one of the richest men on earth, has raised extortion to unbelievable heights, beggaring a rich country in whose capital people starve. Mobutu along with Savimbi, who is armed to the teeth with American and South African weapons, remain to bedevil Africa. "Solving" a political problem by nonpolitical action is an illusion. If Washington has learned this lesson it is not a day too soon.

■ *Richard Hottelet is moderator of 'America and the World' on National Public Radio.*

President Clinton's Program Picks Up Some Momentum

HOW to explain what appears to be a Clinton revival? Let's go back for a look at that big momentum the president enjoyed when he took over at the White House. We wrote then that President Clinton's "Big Mo" rested on a voter demand, shown in the discarding of George Bush, that *something* be done about the economy and other troubling domestic problems.

Well, in just the last week or so it became clear that Mr. Clinton, despite his many blunders, was getting *something* done. His economic plan (or some of it) moved through the Senate; his college aid program moved forward; and the Senate passed legislation revising congressional campaign finance laws. But while Clinton supporters were hailing all this as "victories," in all instances they clearly were accepting "something less" and calling it satisfactory.

Where were Clinton's investment spending and business tax incentives that were to regenerate the economy? Where was the prospect of an exchange of community service for college education? And where was the use of public financing to replace special-interest money? These Clinton proposals had been dropped or delayed.

Meanwhile, under David Gergen's guiding hand, Clinton sought to bury the hatchet with the press by entertaining editors at a dinner in the White House, schmoozing with reporters at a barbecue on the White House lawn, and holding two press conferences in two days.

GODFREY SPERLING

Is there, indeed, a new wind blowing in favor of the president? His backers proclaim this is so, and it does seem clear that Clinton is being treated a little more favorably in the press. A New York Times editorial speaks of "Bill Clinton's Brightening Sky." But a Washington Post editorial puts the new wave of Comeback Kid stories in this realistic light: "You can almost count on the fact that the good news will eventually get played down again, and the problems, if left uncorrected, will loom even bigger the next time around."

One writer, New York Times reporter Thomas L. Friedman, probably has found just the right imagery when he compares the Clinton administration with a boat headed out to sea, "dragging its anchor, with half the passengers seasick and several crew members having fallen overboard. There's constant trouble in the mate's mess, and the captain is navigating by the stars, having long ago lost his charts. But," Mr. Friedman concludes, "By gosh, it is forging along."

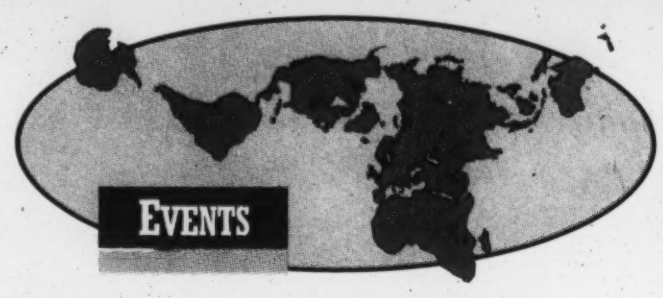
Yes, it does seem to be forging along. But many of us are still holding our breath. Will it make it?

Even while Clinton's standing has plummeted, he retains the basic element for getting something done: There continues to be wide public support for better living conditions, an improved economy, and cleaner politics. The voters rejected Bush because they felt he was resting on his oars. Clinton can still make use of the public's burning desire for a change for the better – a feeling which came through strongly in what voters told pollsters during the presidential-campaign period.

But Clinton has become an outstanding example of the old axiom: "What gets you elected may get you in trouble." That has to do with all those promises a candidate makes along the way that come home to haunt him. So, even as he is "forging" ahead Clinton is getting some new bad news: Big-city Democratic mayors are grumbling; Clinton isn't helping them the way he had promised. And while renewing his pledge to "end welfare as we know it," Clinton's aides are finding that this objective is eluding them.

Also, many liberals are becoming dissatisfied with the compromises Clinton sat back and let happen as the Senate finally put together its budget-tax bill. For example, Rep. Pat Schroeder (D) of Colorado says she opposes the gas tax, which looks like it may mean an increase of 6 cents a gallon or more.

The outcome of Clinton's basic economic legislation is not yet in sight. Will Congress finally accept it? And if so, in what form? It's far from being a "done deal." But things do seem brighter for Clinton. Certainly, the Clinton-ordered strike on Iraq has improved the public perception of his presidency.



IRAN FEARS IT IS NEXT US TARGET

Iran's fiercely critical reaction to the US missile strike on its traditional enemy, Iraq, reflects growing apprehension in Tehran that the Clinton administration may use similar tactics against it, diplomats said yesterday. The Iranian Foreign Ministry said Sunday the United States had violated the UN charter and international law, and that it "would only result in promoting a culture of violence and state terrorism." Diplomats in Tehran said Iranian leaders were smarting from a new US policy of "dual-containment" that regards Iranian hostility toward Washington as equal to that of Saddam Hussein's Iraq. Some of Washington's Western allies have not shown enthusiasm for the new policy of outright hostility toward Tehran. But diplomats said the allies were expected to come under pressure to endorse it at the Group of Seven summit in Tokyo July 7.

Redistricting challenged

State legislatures may violate white voters' rights when they create congressional election districts containing majorities of minority voters to comply with the Voting Rights Act, the Supreme Court ruled yesterday.

The 5-4 decision revived a challenge to a congressional redistricting plan for North Carolina that created two majority-black districts. The challenged plan was drawn to satisfy a Justice Department objection to a previous plan the state Legislature drew. The decision could jeopardize other majority-minority districts as well.

The North Carolina districts are among about two dozen districts in the US with black or Hispanic majorities created under Justice Department pressure following the 1990 census. As a result, 13 additional blacks and six more Hispanics were elected to Congress last year.

Mississippi flooding

Fast-moving debris carried by flood waters that forced the closure of more than 500 miles of the Mississippi River is making a dangerous situation worse, authorities said. The flooding and the debris, which includes everything from tree limbs to picnic tables to dead deer, have halted commercial and most recreational use of the river from St. Louis, Mo. to St. Paul, Minn. The Army Corps of Engineers was forced to close dams and locks along the 500-mile stretch of river over the weekend.

Indian premier accused

A stockbroker charged in a huge financial scandal in India played a tape recording that he said proved his claim that Indian Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao accepted a $325,000 political donation. Although it is not clear such a donation would violate election law, Rao could be forced from office by public outrage if it was shown he took money from a man accused in one of India's worst financial crimes. Stockbroker Harshad Mehta, a suspect in a $1.2 billion scheme involving illegal trading in stocks by banks, called a news conference yesterday to buttress charges he made earlier against Rao.

German violence

Police suspect neo-Nazis set two fires at the home of a sleeping Moroccan family yesterday in the latest outbreak of rightist violence against foreigners. And in Berlin on Sunday, three men who gave Nazi salutes beat and robbed a Japanese tourist at a commuter train station, police said.

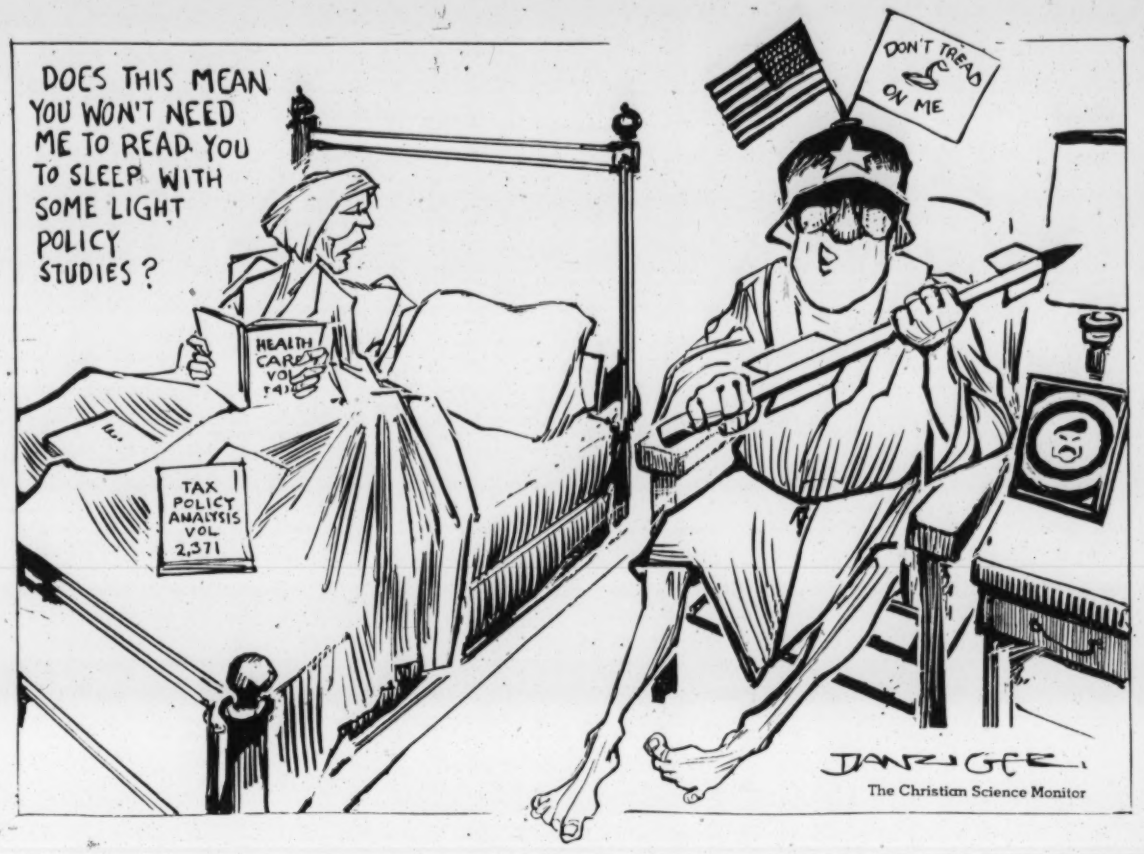
A Moroccan woman who had been sleeping in the burning house in Mönchengladbach was revived by firefighters, but suffered smoke inhalation. Her four children and sister escaped after a passer-by raised the alarm.

Turkish bomb blast

A bomb thrown onto the lawn of a boarding house in the Turkish Mediterranean resort town Antalya Sunday night injured 26 people, including 12 European tourists, the governor of Antalya province said yesterday. Within a few minutes of the boarding house blast, another explosion damaged a car outside the Sheraton Vogager Hotel. No one was hurt.

Twelve people were arrested immediately after the blasts; nine were later released. Newspapers blamed the attacks on the separatist Kurdistan Workers Party, which last month declared all-out war on Turkey.

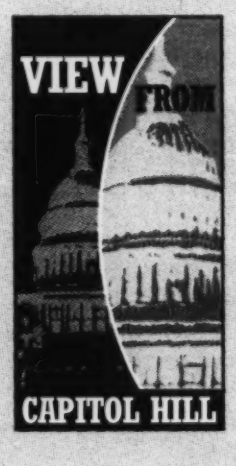
– Compiled by Eric C. Evarts


DOES THIS MEAN YOU WON'T NEED ME TO READ YOU TO SLEEP WITH SOME LIGHT POLICY STUDIES?
HEALTH CARE VOL 741
TAX POLICY ANALYSIS VOL 2,371
DON'T TREAD ON ME
JAN RIGGE
The Christian Science Monitor

Earth Summit Goals Essential

By John Edward Porter

IN 1975, a coalition of Western and Eastern European countries signed the Helsinki Accords, which were broad agreements addressing the conduct of nations in economic, security, and human rights concerns. Many skeptics questioned how such nonbinding accords could be effective, especially regarding human rights, without close international monitoring.



My late colleague, US Rep. Millicent Fenwick (R) of New Jersey, had an answer: the Helsinki Commission. Her proposal for this joint legislative-executive branch organization has been one of this century's greatest success stories. For nearly 20 years, by monitoring compliance with the accords and helping to focus international diplomatic pressure on offending signatories, the Commission has kept the 1975 agreements intact.

This month we are celebrating the first anniversary of an equally historic conference: the Earth Summit last June in Rio de Janeiro. The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) brought together 178 nations to discuss how to prevent the exponentially increasing demands of human population from destroying Earth's ability to sustain life. Sweeping agreements to promote sustainable development – integrating environmental protection with economic growth and equity for all nations and all people – were signed. These documents express great hope for the future of our planet. As in 1975, however, there is considerable skepticism as to the enforceability of the agreements.

I have introduced legislation to do for the Earth Summit what Ms. Fenwick did for the Helsinki Accords: establish a commission to monitor international compliance with and progress toward the development goals articulated by UNCED. The Rio Commission would address the threats to the global environment identified at UNCED, including global climate change, ocean pollution, deforestation, biodiversity loss, and persistent poverty. It would also provide non-governmental organizations, which played such a critical role at UNCED, with an official and ongoing forum in which to voice their concerns on environmental or human-rights abuses and to share their expertise regarding sustainable development.

The agreements produced at UNCED have the potential to change the course of history. However, the consequences of failing to enforce them are enormous. Every day that we delay, scarce natural resources disappear, the fragile ecosystems that sustain the earth are savaged, and the human suffering exacerbated by our neglect multiplies.

This must not be the legacy we leave to future generations. For most of my lifetime, the galvanizing principle for America was meeting the challenges of the cold war by opposing the forces of oppression and tyranny. Now, while the fight for human rights and freedom continues, the cold war is behind us. As we join people around the world in celebrating the demise of many totalitarian regimes, we must recognize that there are new and urgent challenges demanding our leadership – those of promoting sustainable development and of ensuring that all people live in a healthy and sound environment.

International agreements mean nothing unless they are followed by concrete actions. The United States Congress and the American people realized this twenty years ago and fought to establish a body that would institutionalize our commitment to human rights. The question is, will we have the foresight to do the same for the global environment? The quality of life enjoyed by our children and grandchildren depends on our response.

■ *US Rep. John Edward Porter (R) of Illinois is a member of the Helsinki Commission and was a member of the US congressional delegation to the Earth Summit.*